Saturday Review

December 11, 1976

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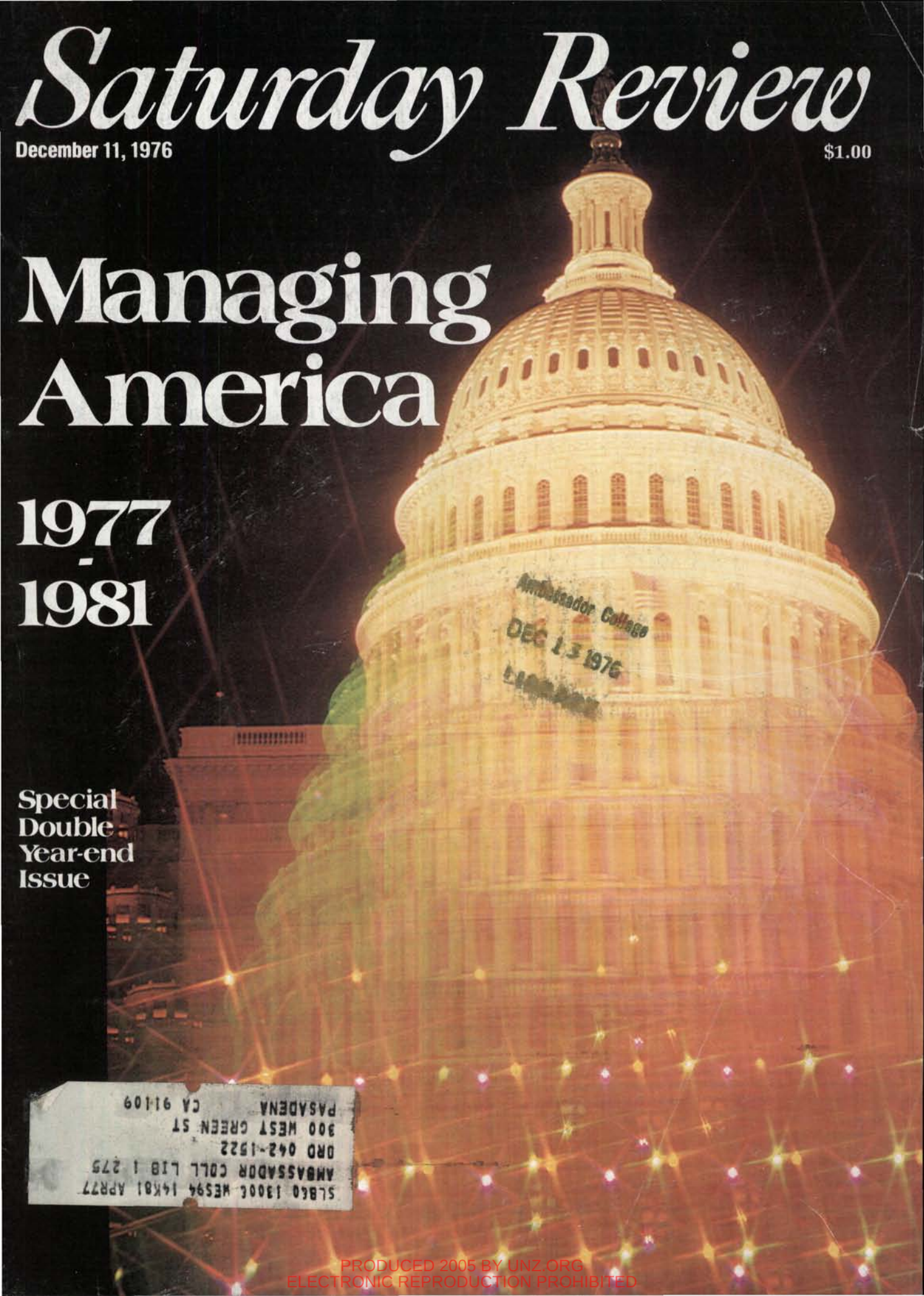
Managing America

1977 - 1981

Special Double Year-end Issue



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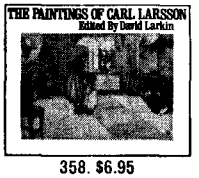

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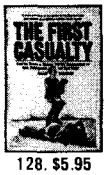

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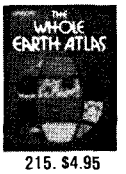

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Saturday Review

December 11, 1976
Double Year-End Issue

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Foreign-Policy Management

"It is made to appear that security can be bought with dollars alone."

It is customary to regard the American presidency as the most powerful office on earth. So it is in terms of its effects and its potentialities. But the office has become so beset by internal pressures as to cut heavily into freedom of decision. The management of the internal bureaucracy is hardly less complicated and baffling than the management of the nation's major problems.

Almost every observer of stature who has written about the United States, from de Crèvecoeur and de Tocqueville to Laski and Servan-Schreiber, has been struck by the propensity for duplication that seems to be built into the American way of doing things. We have not one military establishment but three. We have an Army and a Navy and an Air Force, each of which duplicates the others in many vital respects. The Army and Navy each has an air arm of its own that rates favorably in size and striking power with the primary air force of almost any major nation in the world. Valiant attempts have been made over the years, beginning with the Hoover Commission of a quarter-century ago, to unify the armed forces. The resultant "unification" has led to coordination at the top, but it has not eliminated much of the underlying duplication of military forces and functions.

So it is with the executive branch. The President presides over not one but many governments. Each of the major government departments is a vast conglomeration of agencies and commissions, a substantial number of which make their own policies but all of which are part of the presidential responsibility. It is in the field of foreign policy and military operations, however, that the problem of management becomes most intricate and insistent. The State Department is officially designated as the headquarters for the making of U.S. foreign policy. Yet the Pentagon, the CIA, and the White House itself each has separate foreign-policy staffs and functions, with representation overseas.

The Vietnam war brought into the open the extent to which presidential authority can be bypassed or compromised. In 1966, President Lyndon Johnson privately admitted to U.N. Secretary-General U Thant that the State Department had not informed him of a peace offer from Hanoi. The message had originally been sent to U Thant, who then, of course, had promptly relayed it to the State Department.

Why hadn't the President been informed? The evidence would seem to suggest that the administration was not of one mind about negotiating a non-military end to the war. Certainly elements in both the State Department and the armed forces were doing everything they could to bring about victory on the battlefield.

Two episodes can be cited here.

The first came in early 1966, when the President declared a pause in the bombing in order to test the willingness of Hanoi to enter into peace talks. A mission was sent to the Far East under Senator Humphrey for the purpose of getting the message through to Hanoi that President Johnson sincerely hoped North Vietnam would recognize the futility of the war and would be willing to talk about a negotiated settlement. The halt in the bombing would be continued so long as there was any reasonable prospect that such talks might become a reality.

The response from Hanoi was affirmative. Through the Polish government, arrangements were made to hold a preliminary low-level meeting between the United States and North Vietnam in Warsaw on February 13, 1966. On the eve of the scheduled meeting, however, the United States resumed the bombing, and North Vietnam abruptly canceled the meeting. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, who had been assigned by the President to coordinate the peace probe during the pause in the bombing, told me at the time that key people in the administration had been hoping that Hanoi would spurn our overtures.

If we assume the President himself was sincere in his initial offer to Hanoi—and there is no direct evidence to indicate he was not—then the resumption of the bombing can only mean that other forces inside the government were strong enough to negate his purpose.

The second incident also involved Vietnam. The time was the fall of 1967. Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. ambassador to South Vietnam, was involved in intensive efforts to persuade the North Vietnamese to come to the negotiating table. Finally, through the good offices of the Polish government, December 1 was set as the date for preliminary talks.

On the eve of the meeting, American planes bombed Hanoi, despite public assurances that the United States had no intention to hit civilian centers. At first, the U.S. government officially denied the bombing had even occurred. Then, when photographs of damaged embassies and consulates in Hanoi were published, a U.S. spokesman blamed the bombing on pilot error. The trouble with such an explanation, of course, was that the damage had been done by a number of planes.

Who had ordered the bombing? The U.S. government assured the Poles, who had interceded in our behalf, that the President had known nothing about the bombing and that military authorities in the field had undertaken the raids on their own initiative. Giving full credence to this explanation, what does the bombing say about the ascendancy of the military in the operation of the American government?

Big budgets beget big bureaucracies. What makes military spending today so difficult to oppose effectively is that the sheer size of the military budget

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creates its own momentum. It is absurd to say that the "military-industrial complex," to use the phrase associated with General Eisenhower, is the *only* potent force behind mammoth military spending. The labor unions can be counted on to resist any reduction in defense spending that carries with it the threat of fewer jobs. It makes little difference whether the reduction involves nerve gases or napalm or big bombers. Some unions, apparently, vote jobs ahead of conscience. Similarly, many representatives and senators in Congress, no matter how lustrous their reputations in other respects, fight as hard as they can to retain maximum military spending in their own districts or states. Few senators in the United States were less hesitant to take on powerful adversaries than was the late Wayne Morse, of Oregon. Yet he opposed measures that would have resulted in cutting back on defense plants in his own state. The same has been true of any number of other names of equal reputation in Congress.

President Kennedy opposed certain military programs because they were outdated, extraneous, just plain wasteful. Yet he failed for want of a constituency. Where was the popular pressure on Congress for supporting cutbacks? What groundswells of public opinion surged behind him? Where is the lobby today for making this planet safe for human habitation? Why should the human cause on earth go unrepresented?

REQUESTS for military funds need to be subjected to thoroughgoing public scrutiny. For example, the present effort to seek increased military spending on the grounds that the Russians are supposedly spending more money than we do verges on the nonsensical. It is made to appear that security can be bought with dollars alone and that there is a direct connection between the size of the military budget and the amount of security we get in return. The fact that mammoth spending produces a fiery spiral in the arms race is hardly even considered. The threats to the total security of the American people from such an arms race are not understood.

Nor does the public generally recognize that the comparisons between Russian and American military spending are largely meaningless because of the differences in wages, overhead, construction costs, and the variations in dollar and ruble equivalents. Congressman Les Aspin, of Wisconsin, pointed out in a recent report that some of the items in the U.S. arsenal do not exsit in the Soviet military establishment and that, therefore, comparisons can be easily skewed.

Another reason why comparisons are unreliable is that the estimate of Russian military spending includes the vast amount spent by the Soviet Union in maintaining a heavy military presence on the border with China. The kind of manpower and military equipment used for that purpose may have little relevance or significance in terms of any threat to American security. Analysts have calculated that the Chinese involvement alone accounts for 17 percent of the Soviet military budget.

But still the howl goes up that the Russians are outspending us, a commentary more on the condition of the national ego than on the condition of the national security. Some people can't stand to have the Russians bigger in anything, including the stakes in Russian roulette.

IT WOULD be a mistake to imagine that this mass suicidal behavior is confined to the United States and the Soviet Union. The entire world is caught up in a design for a holocaust. Sixty million people on this globe are now engaged in military undertakings. The total amount of military spending this year exceeded $300 billion. These expenditures averaged $12,330 per soldier, compared to education expenditures that averaged $219 per schoolchild. Ruth Leger Sivard, in her book *World Military and Social Expenditures, 1976,* reports that the cost of producing existing stockpiles of weapons in the world is estimated to be more than twice the value of the capital stock of all manufacturing industry in the United States.

"Some people can't stand to have the Russians bigger in anything, including the stakes in Russian roulette."

Sivard also calculates that the world expenditure on arms in 1976 exceeded the outlay for health needs of the world's 4 billion people by 66 percent.

The management of American security is inseparable from the management of human survival. It will not be easy for President Jimmy Carter, any more than it was for any of his predecessors, to take initiatives that have a reasonable chance for bringing the arms race under control. But being able to restore adequate and workable presidential authority over our own security establishment might be a significant and historic beginning.

One hundred seventy-six years ago, a Southerner elected to the White House anticipated the overriding issue now before President Jimmy Carter. "The care of human life and happiness, and not their destruction," said Thomas Jefferson, "is the first and only legitimate object of good government." —N.C.

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Letters from Readers

Cut and Thrust

I am astonished that you publish such folderol as Barry Fell's article ["Columbus Was a Johnny-Come-Lately," October 16]. . . . Mr. Fell would have us believe that the New World was colonized by Egyptians, Libyans, and Celts; that New World native cultures are to be derived from the Old World. . . . There is something intensely disturbing about his approach. In his own words, "eight generations of American youth learned to think of the United States as a nation without historical roots in the soil of the New World. . . ."

Aside from the fact that Mr. Fell provides no credible support for his contention, there is a curious nineteenth-century racism in an approach that must derive the accomplishments of native cultures and civilizations from the civilizations of the Old World, most particularly those of Western Europe, the Celts, and Egypt. Mr. Fell believes that if we think of the Wabanaki Indians as Phoenicians we can better appreciate our own historical roots. Mr. Fell does a disservice to archaeology in offering his conjectural philosophy as a path toward understanding the past. . . .

Prof. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky
American School of Prehistoric Research, Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass.

Barry Fell replies

In dismissing my epigraphic researches as so much "folderol," Dr. Lamberg-Karlovsky leaves me in much doubt as to what he finds defective in them. Could it be that he has other ideas on the declension of the Iberic noun? Or does he find distasteful my proposed conjugation and model analysis of the Minoan verb? These matters have engaged the attention of European specialists in Bronze Age languages, and unlike Dr. Lamberg-Karlovsky, they have found much to praise in my decipherments and have not been backward in saying so. If my work is dismissed, then so also must be the work of my esteemed colleagues at the universities of Lisbon, St. Gallen, and Haifa, not to mention the curators of the principal museums of Valencia, Barcelona, Madrid, Lisbon, and Belém. . . . Is it a myth that Catalan Greek has been identified through my work? Are the compass dials of Liria a fabrication? If so, then my Spanish colleagues will have to go down the drain with me. . . . Because Prof. Lamberg-Karlovsky claims I have presented no credible evidence, I assume he does not think that epigraphy is relevant to archaeology. Yet the U.S. authority on megalithic Iberian buildings has found that there is widespread interest in Spain and Portugal in our work.

Any alarm over impending racial crisis might be much alleviated by a glance at the epigraphic literature. Considerable reliance is placed by epigraphers on the learning and traditional skills of Amerindians, some of whom actually participate in the research. Their tribal leaders have expressed interest in our work. . . . No, the Amerindians are the friends of epigraphy and are proud to trace their lineage back to the bold mariners of the Bronze Age.

Downhill Racer

In 1966, during a long interview that I conducted with Mr. Nixon, we discussed the early debates that Eric F. Goldman described ["The 1947 Kennedy-Nixon 'Tube City' Debate," October 16].

When the two congressmen took the train back to Washington together, they flipped a coin to determine who would get the lower berth. Kennedy won the toss. Nixon's comment: "[he] beat me at that and everything after that."

Larry King, WIOD
Miami, Fla.

Spirit of '76

Roger Williams's article ["The Making of Andrew Young," October 16] is superb. Many of us who have known Andy for the last twenty-five years have despaired that anyone in the news media would be able to grasp and communicate his spirit. Williams has done so —to the benefit of the American people, who are desperately in need of "a blast of clean air."

Donald Newhy
Indianapolis, Ind.

Mediocre Media

To me, Eric Sevareid's piece ["What's Right with Sight-and-Sound Journalism," October 2] was unconvincing as an apologia for the mediocrity in American mass communications.

Northern and Western European television and radio systems, which are usually public and well funded, have many of the programming difficulties the United States has. But one can discover in these countries a diversity of class interests represented and a balance between educational, informational, and entertainment programming.

The corporate executives who control the American mass-communications media consider the medium essentially a selling medium, not an important tool for human enrichment. They are bureaucrats, not Renaissance men.

Frank Balzer
Jefferson City, Mo.

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Garbage: it can pile up into problems for our cities — or it can provide a new source of raw materials. As an international producer of packaging, we are as concerned with the disposal of our products as we are with their use. That's one reason why we established our Americology® business, which will put a large-scale resource recovery plant on stream in Milwaukee this fall. About 20% of the city's household garbage will be reclaimed as usable steel, tin, aluminum, paper and glass. Another 60% will be turned into a fuel and used by the local power company to generate electricity.

Turning discarded material into marketable products and useful energy is a rewarding experience. It's also good business. Seeking that combination has led us to some interesting developments: A way to breed trees that produce as much as 30% more wood. A lettuce wrapping that "breathes" to keep lettuce fresh longer — and saves dramatically on shipping space. An easy-opening pudding package that's boosting milk consumption among traditionally milk-shy French children. If you'd like to know more about the unexpected things we're involved in, write for our latest annual report.

American Can Company
Greenwich, CT 06830

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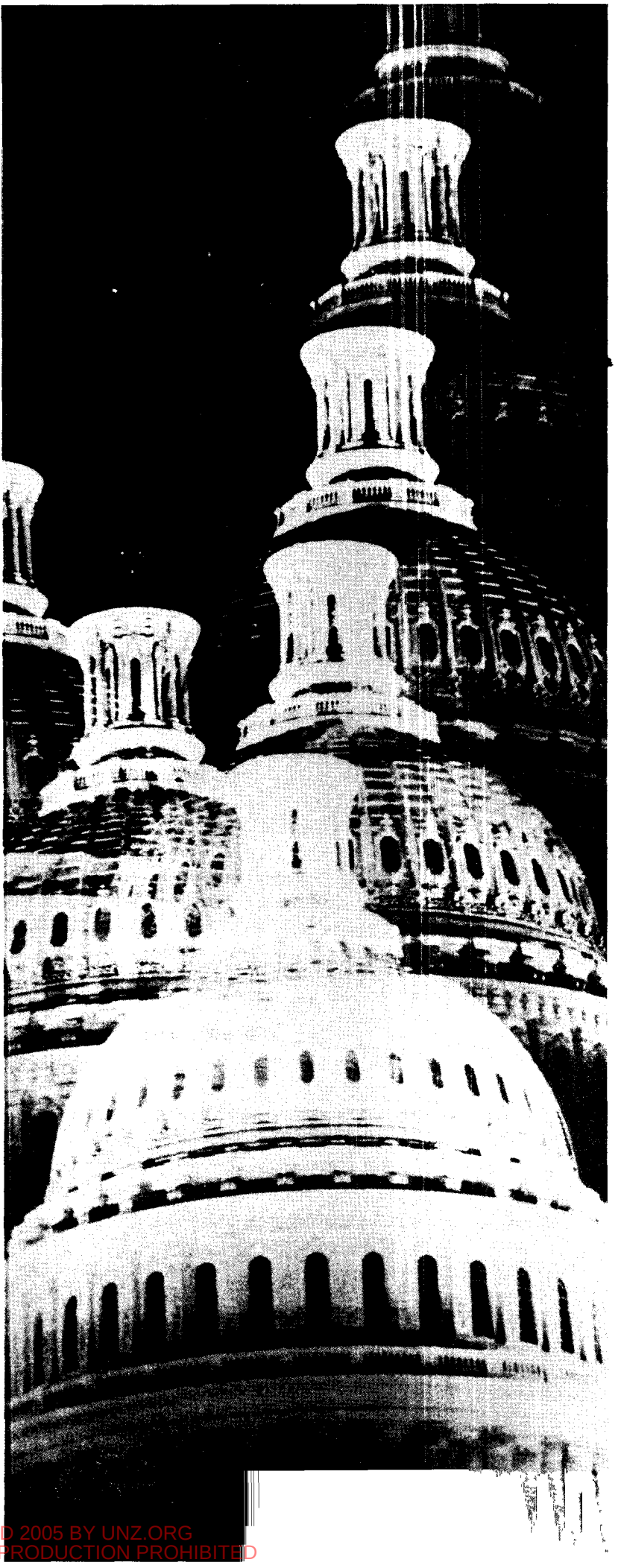
SR Double Year-end Issue

Managing America

1977-1981



Mitchell Funk The Image Bank

This is about ritual and about parades and portent. The President will be sworn in precisely at noon on January 20, 1977; then the battalions will deploy for the march down Pennsylvania Avenue. That night, in a shower of stars, Washington will revel at the inaugural parties. But after the ball is over, the mood will change, for then the President must turn away from the music and face the issues, not the niggling political issues of the campaign, but considerations of deep consequence to the nation. Pressing on the presidential agenda will be the need for decisions in matters of economy and welfare, in ways to deal with the Pentagon, and the concomitant concerns—what to do about the smoldering fires of southern Africa, the thunderclouds over the Caribbean, and the lighted fuses of Asia, let alone the ticking bomb that is the Middle East.

In this special year-end double issue, *Saturday Review* has brought together thinkers and writers from such diverse compass points as Johannesburg, Stockholm, and Turin to join Americans of specialized disciplines in preparing position papers for the President who must lead the nation, and by extension the free world, into the uncharted reaches of the 1980s.

This portfolio begins with notes for an inaugural address which may serve as a code in dealing with a world at peace, and yet, in pockets, at war; a world free, and yet in hidden corners, still enslaved; a world rich, and yet mired in poverty.

Options for the Oval Office are the salient features of the file that follows. Selecting a negotiable course, and pursuing it with verve, vision, and with national dignity, will be the mission of the new President as he leads the nation into the third century of the American experiment in democracy, and toward the end of a millennium without parallel in recorded history. —H.S.

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Notes for an Inaugural Address

The following notes for the President's opening statement to the nation are respectfully submitted as being relevant to the managing of America in the years just ahead.

IN BEGINNING our third century, we need to remind ourselves that the young men who created the design for the American government believed that the ultimate power in any free society must belong to the people.

Everything they did at the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention reflected their conviction that the surest way to make good men turn bad is to tempt them with power.

When I say that the Founding Fathers wanted to protect the American people against the abuse of power by a President, I don't mean to say that they intended the President to powerless.

What they meant was that they didn't want the President to use the powers of his office to commit serious offenses or to betray the public trust—and then to use those powers to cloak his misdeeds, to use the law to conceal lawlessness.

I want to be sure of the facts before I act, but you can be sure that I don't intend to make fact-finding commissions a substitute for action.

When we deal with unemployment, for example, we must be careful to remember that behind the cold statistics are flesh-and-blood human beings.

Some people seem to think that the economy is in balance if the unemployment ratio can be maintained at 7 or 8 percent. There are even some people who believe that an 8 percent unemployment figure acts as a check on inflation. I suppose they would look at it differently if they happened to belong to that 7 or 8 percent.

I don't know what school of economics gave them these ideas, but I can tell you this—that any system of economics is bankrupt if it sees any value or virtue in unemployment. We won't keep inflation in check by keeping a certain number of people out of work. The best way to keep prices down is to keep productivity up.

I think it shocking that our nation possesses the greatest productive capability this world has ever known—but doesn't make full use of that productivity. Not until our full strength is put to work in combating joblessness and deprivation can any of us feel we are giving a good account of ourselves in the world.

Similarly, we are not utilizing our knowledge or our skills to the fullest in our approach to the energy crisis. I have seen people in government wring their hands over shortages of energy. But I haven't yet seen the government mount an all-out crash effort to tap the basic energy of the sun.

It was considered important enough during World War II to mount a crash program to develop an atomic bomb. Why is it less important to meet needs for life than to produce the mechanisms for death?

There is no doubt in my mind, after having talked to responsible scientists, that eventually we will be able to use the sun as a primary source of power.

I intend to speed up that timetable.

With respect to nuclear energy, three questions have to be resolved. The first question concerns the need for safety in the operation of the plants. The second question concerns the disposal of radioactive wastes. The third question concerns the spread of nuclear capability throughout the world. One of the waste products of nuclear-energy plants is plutonium 239, which is the basic material used for making nuclear weapons.

I know that some progress is being made with respect to the safety program for nuclear-power plants. Still, our efforts need to be greatly accelerated.

As for the second question—the disposal of the radioactive wastes—I am profoundly troubled by the fact that the storage problems are far from being solved.

There is no pride or glory in bequeathing a legacy of radioactive garbage to future generations. That is why I intend to place the highest priority on finding workable ways to dispose of nuclear poisons. I am assured by responsible scientists that this task is certainly no more difficult than putting a man on the moon or landing an earthship on Mars.

As for the third question—the spread of nuclear plants—I am profoundly uneasy about the fact that this government and other major governments have been competing with one another in selling nuclear plants to various nations—plants that lack adequate safeguards against misuse or possible theft of plutonium 239.

At one time we derived a certain measure of comfort from the enormous difficulties involved in making nuclear explosives. Today, however, worldwide nuclear capability can no longer be regarded as a terribly remote possibility. I need not underline for the American people the dangers inherent in this matter.

The management of nuclear-energy problems—not in any one country, but in the entire world—must be close to the top of any agenda concerned with world needs.

As we try to find enough energy to keep machines going, we must not forget that it is even more important to keep human beings going.

IF THERE is any theme I would like to stress for the next four years, it is the Pursuit of the American Potential.

Americans are being underused, and their full potential is not being developed, if they are poorly educated, poorly fed, poorly sheltered. The management of our resources begins with the management of human resources.

Young Americans are being underused and their potential is being denied—denied to their own and the nation's detriment—if they spend years in formal education or specialized training only to discover there is no place to go.

The greatest asset any nation has is its youth. The surest way to defeat the potentiality of this nation is to block or

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ignore the need to provide creative and productive outlets for its young people.

I am equally concerned about the upper-age groups. Americans are being underused and their potential thwarted if they are cut off from a productive existence by the arbitrary and altogether inhuman notion that people are expendable after a certain age—whether it be 65 or 60 or even 50. Millions of our citizens should not be forced out of productivity because of an absurd age limit.

Americans are being underused if they are made the victims of discrimination or prejudice. I have never believed that discrimination or unequal opportunity can be ended by some governmental magic wave of the hand. But neither do I believe that discrimination can be ended unless society sets standards. The battle to make these standards both adequate and proportionate calls for all the intelligence and goodwill and imaginative compassion of which we are capable.

If we consider all the people in the United States who are being underused, we can see that one of the main problems and dangers in the years ahead is not the squandering of our natural resources but the squandering of our human resources.

We will never achieve our full potentialities as a nation—we will never make it possible for all our citizens to experience full growth and development—unless we give the highest priority to the proper use of human beings in our nation.

A nation that has just gone to Mars can come down to earth on behalf of its own people.

Martin Luther King, Jr., had a dream—the dream of social justice. I share that dream. But I have another dream—the dream of a world without war. This brings me to the management of peace. The only way to rid ourselves of war in the world is to create law among nations.

This conviction goes back in a straight line to the American Founding Fathers. They believed that the rule of law must apply not only to citizens but to governments themselves.

And, just as the Founding Fathers made known their commitment to a Declaration of Independence for their age, so I believe that if they were here today, they would commi themselves to a Declaration of Interdependence for th world.

Make no mistake about it: strength in the world today i not measured by military might alone. As General Eisen hower said, strength is meaningless unless it is connected t a great idea that can do away with war.

Ultimately, the best security for the American people—o for any people—can come only from a world order unde law.

Like Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy, pledge to work for a world under law, knowing that peace i possible only with justice, and that justice is possible onl under law.

I still believe that the United Nations can fulfill the hig hopes of the world's peoples. But it must be able to mak objective decisions about world problems and world dis putes. This means that justice must come ahead of powe politics.

I realize that many knowledgeable people believe that th United Nations can never be anything more than a reflectin mirror for the world as it is. But the world, as it is, is not goo enough. We've got to create something more than a reflect ing mirror if we want to create a world without war. We nee an institutionalized peace. We need a world organizatio strong enough to legislate in the human interest.

"Martin Luther King, Jr., had a dream—the dream of social justice. . . . But I have another dream—the dream of a world without war."

What we've got to do is to create world institutions capabl of dealing with world problems. No single nation, not th United States or any other nation—not even the two mos powerful nations working together—has the means to solv all problems everywhere. That is why the best thing th United States can do is to help create adequate world ma chinery to deal with the common problems that go with lif on earth.

I don't think we should carry the entire world on ou backs, but neither should we turn our backs on the world

Obviously, some problems call for immediate action, an we must do the best we can through all the means open to us Famine is spreading throughout the world. The world's re sources are being depleted. This planet is the only one we'v got. We need to make it a fit and safe place for the huma beings who inhabit it.

MY FELLOW Americans, the real di vision in this country is not alon party lines. The real division is be tween those who believe that human beings are incapable o managing the incredibly difficult and complex problems con fronting us and those who look at the same problems an feel we have a real chance, and are willing to try.

Hope is where everything begins. This is the time for al Americans, whatever their political affiliation, to join th party of hope. —N.C.

Reprinted from *SR* 12/13/58

Through History with J. Wesley Smith

"I think people will understand you better, Mr. President, if you just say 'eighty-seven years.'"

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Manning an Affordable Defense

National needs and treaty obligations fitted to match budget and public mood will be Carter's Pentagonal problems

by Barry M. Blechman

As THE United States came to assume a principal role in the war in Indochina, many Americans came to question the underlying principles of our foreign and defense policies. Eventually, a consensus crystallized: fed up with the war—with its weekly casualty toll, its worsening economic consequences at home, and the strident discord it had introduced to American society—the public called clearly for a retrenchment of U.S. power abroad. And retrench we did. Beginning in 1969 with the withdrawal from Vietnam itself, American military power has been considerably reduced over the past seven years, both in overall size and in the number of U.S. troops located abroad.

Now, however, the consensus on U.S. defense policy has again dissolved. To many Americans, the cutback in defense has gone too far. Yet, to many other Americans, the case for a new increase in military capabilities is far from clear. And the expenditures necessary to finance such an increase . . . well, they needlessly divert resources from more pressing domestic needs.

If there is one thing we should have learned from Vietnam, it is that military power is but one of several factors that contribute to a nation's strength; the health of the economy, the wisdom of its leaders, and the degree to which policies can, by their merits, attract the continuing support of the populace are all equally important.

A central task for the administration taking us into the Eighties will be to determine a defense policy behind which an enduring consensus can form. An acceptable policy requires three things: a hardheaded assessment of the nation's interests around the globe and of how military forces may or may not be pertinent to the security of those interests; a serious effort to prune waste in the defense establishment, so that the burden of defense can be kept as low as possible; and the adoption of a political style so that public support for the new defense posture can remain at a high level over the long haul.

The primary U.S. interest abroad is to maintain the closeness and cooperation that now characterize relations between ourselves and the industrial democracies of Western Europe and Japan. These nations have joined freely in alliances reflecting their shared political and cultural values, as well as their economic interdependence. Many factors contribute to the cohesion of these alliances; important among them, however, is U.S. military power.

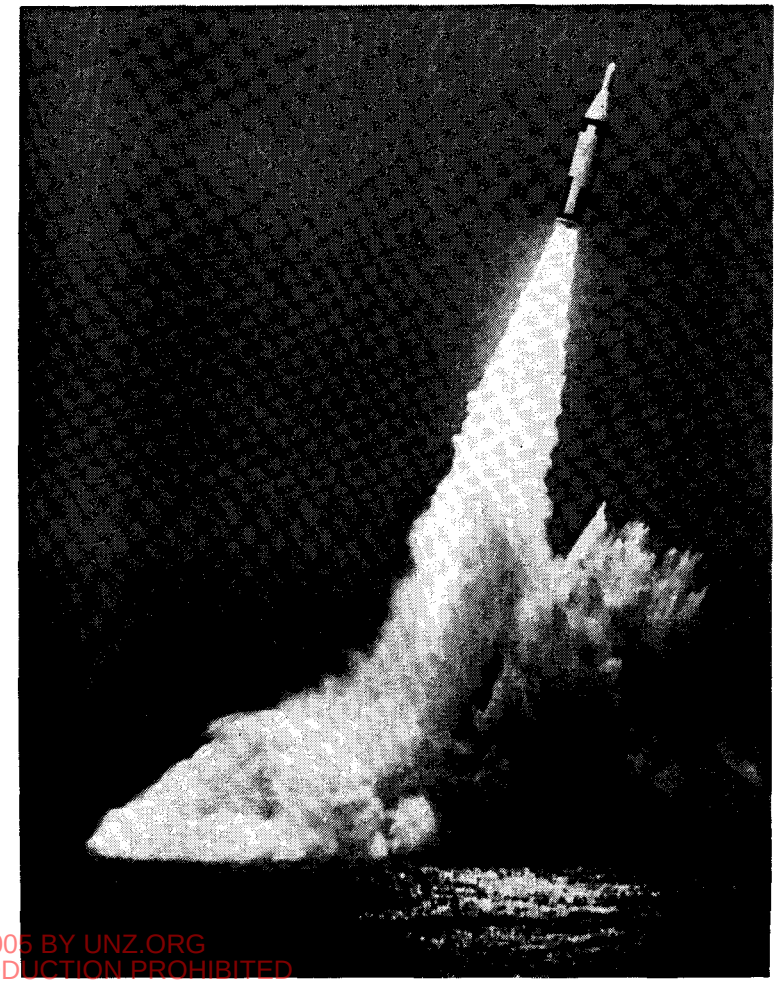
The United States also has vital economic and political interests in the Middle East. The commitment to Israel is strong and enduring, and no less important for being based largely on intangible factors. U.S. military power is the ultimate guarantee of Israel's security. Our military power also provides more diffuse influence in the region; for example, it enables the United States to play a positive role in encouraging movement toward an Arab-Israeli settlement, and, perhaps, it might one day help to dissuade the oil producers from instituting a new embargo.

Elsewhere, the role of U.S military power is less clear. We do, of course, have a special interest in developments in the Caribbean. There are, too, treaty commitments to several states in East Asia, South Korea being perhaps the most significant of these. But generally, U.S. interests are less directly engaged in the Third World. And other than discouraging Soviet military adventures in these regions, it is not clear how U.S. armed forces can help to avert the threats to U.S. interests that are likely to arise in the Third World.

In calculating requirements for U.S. military forces, the most important consideration is the strength of Soviet armed

Undersea Polaris launch—"retrench we did."

U.S. Navy



Barry Blechman is head, Defense Analysis Staff, of the Foreign Policy Studies Program of The Brookings Institution, Washington.

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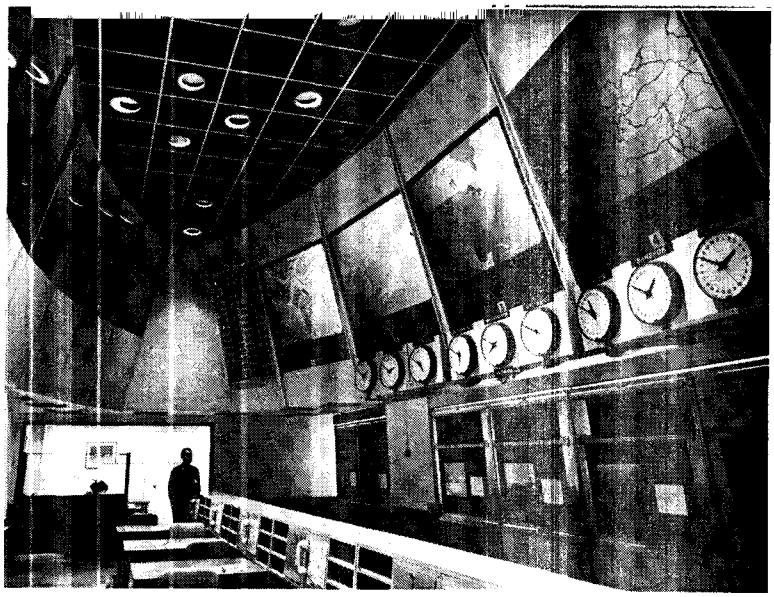
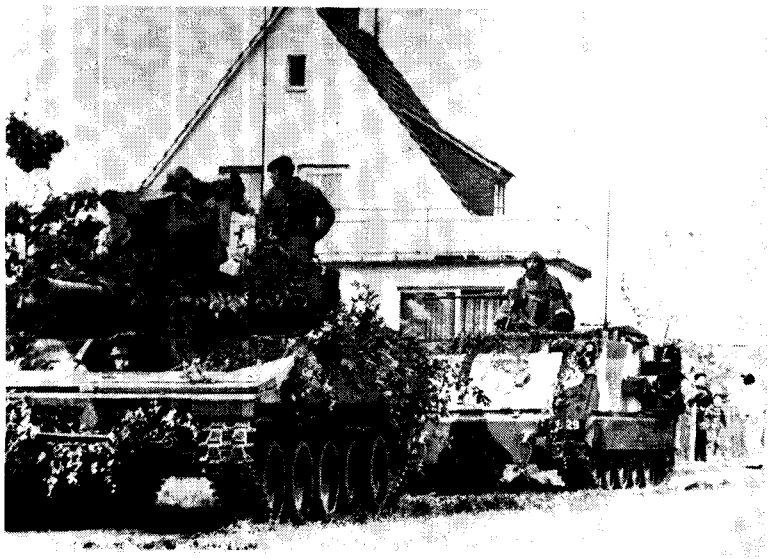


Roger Malloch: Magnum

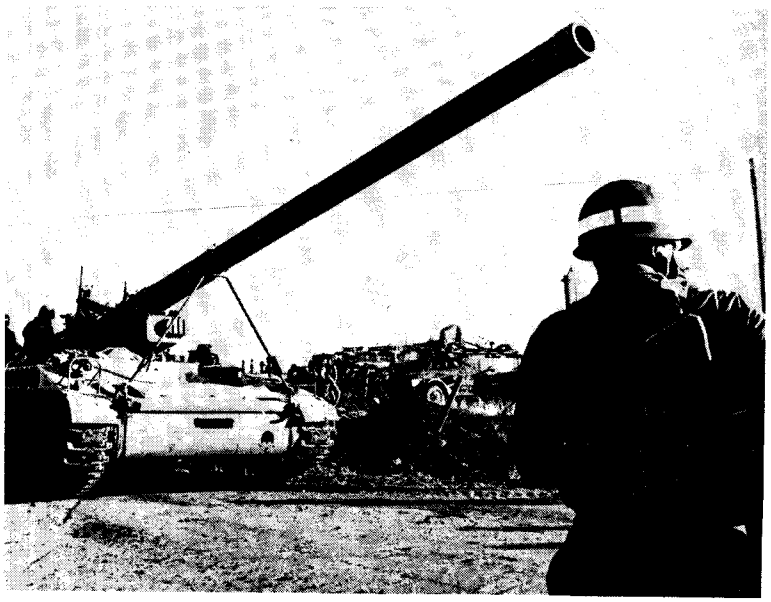
Inside the Pentagon—"The U.S. frittered away massive military resources, then cut back. . . ."



Wide World

U.S. armor in Germany, above, and U.S. cannon in Israel, below—"the balance is tipping away."

UPI



forces. The Soviet Union is the only nation with a military capability that rivals our own. Moreover, because Soviet leaders are commonly believed to understand but one factor in politics—power—they are said to be deterred from various hostile initiatives or induced to behave cooperatively only if they perceive their rival to be strong, resolved, and militarily competent. From such a vantage point, trends over the past twelve years are disturbing.

Since 1964, the Soviet Union has engaged in a sustained military buildup. During this same period, the United States first frittered away massive military resources in Southeast Asia and then cut back sharply on its defense outlays. During the last fiscal year—1976—after accounting for inflation, U.S. defense expenditures were 18 percent less than they were in fiscal 1964—the last year before the Vietnam War. We worry not so much about present capabilities implied by these contrary trends as about what they may foreshadow concerning future developments. To understand their implications for the U.S. military posture, however, it is necessary to examine several regions individually.

In *Europe*, there are today nearly 50 percent more Soviet troops than there were twelve years ago, and they are much better equipped now. Although the West also has improved its own capabilities, many defense planners fear that the balance is tipping to the Soviet side. Continued erosion of the military balance in Europe could, over the long term, aggravate already existing centrifugal forces within the alliance. At worst, it would cause the larger states of Europe—including Germany—to attempt to go it alone, perhaps by relying on nuclear weapons for their defense. But even if events did not proceed so dramatically, a lessening of allied political and economic cooperation—stemming from the idea that trends in the military balance inevitably were favoring the U.S.S.R.—would be costly to U.S. interests. And should a crisis unexpectedly develop, as it may in Yugoslavia after Tito dies, under such circumstances the U.S.S.R. could well take a more active role than it would otherwise.

Thus, an expansion of U.S. military capabilities applicable in the European theater seems prudent. These measures should focus on the Army and Air Force equipment suitable for the high-speed intense conflicts that the Soviet military is geared to fight. No additional U.S. troops need to be stationed on the Continent, but those that are there should be reorganized and more appropriately equipped.

In the *Middle East*, concern centers on the Soviet naval buildup. Although the United States retains significant advantages in naval power, the Soviet Navy has improved to the point that in regions near Soviet territory such as the eastern Mediterranean, the United States would have to think twice before risking an engagement with Soviet forces.

The shift here, most dangerously, could lead to precipitate behavior by the U.S.S.R. during crises, particularly in the event of a new Arab-Israeli conflict. Less dramatically, continued erosion of the naval balance over the long term could cause the United States slowly to lose influence, a development that could lead to Israeli public reliance on nuclear weapons for defense.

Correcting this situation need not involve added expenditures, at least not beyond the increases in the Navy's budget already planned. Far-reaching changes would be required in the operating patterns of the U.S. Navy, however, and of some Air Force units as well; over the long term, a fundamental realignment of the ship-

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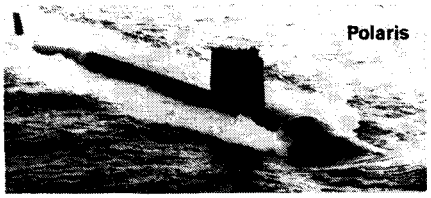
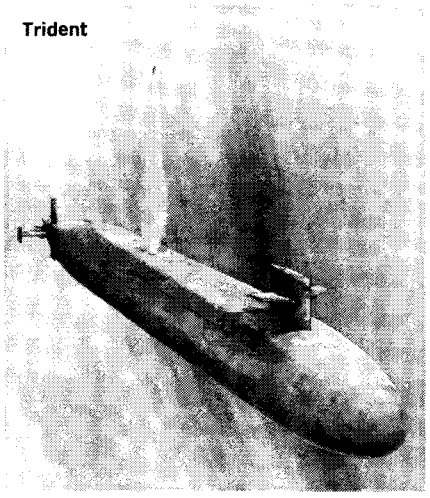
The $80-Billion Update



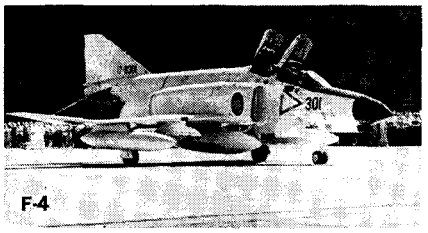
U.S. Navy

Trident



U.S. Navy

New Tridents replace Polaris and Poseidon



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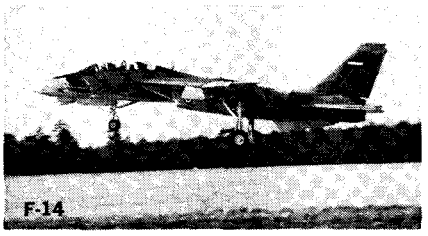

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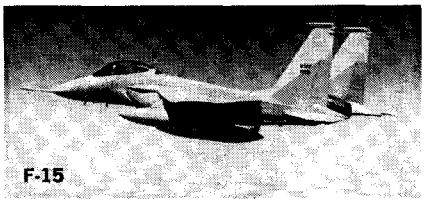
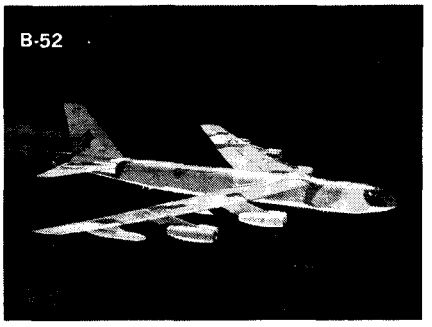
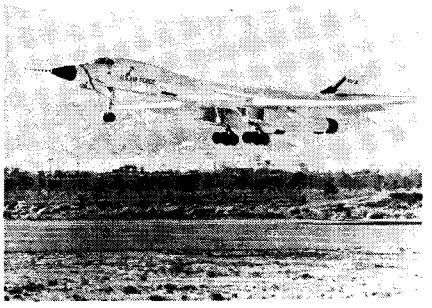


Wide World

F-15 fighter is three times, F-14 five times, cost of an F-4



B-1



UPI

B-1s, costing $94 million each, will replace B-52s

building program will be necessary to reverse the trend.

In *East Asia and the Pacific*, a different picture emerges. The Soviet military buildup has affected its capabilities in Asia as well, of course, but here the sharp increase in the size and quality of Soviet ground and air forces threatens China, not the United States. As for the Soviet Navy, well, that too has been strengthened, but the Pacific Fleet remains very much the stepchild of the Soviet Navy.

Most importantly, U.S. perceptions of its interests in Asia and of threats to those interests are markedly changed. We do not view China as threatening, nor are we willing any longer to fight in Southeast Asia. U.S. forces in Asia and the Pacific must remain adequate to maintain Japan's confidence in the U.S. commitment to its defense, to deter aggression on the Korean peninsula, to reinforce China's determination to maintain an independent stance toward the U.S.S.R., and to deal with those unpredictable contingencies in which the lives of American citizens may be threatened. But the question is whether one-fourth of the U.S. non-nuclear-force posture—about $20 billion worth of men and equipment—is necessary to carry out these tasks, as is now the case. If it were agreed that the answer is no, then either the burden of defense could be reduced, by taking some of these forces out of the force structure, or additional forces could be made available to meet needs in Europe and the Middle East.

Recognition of the need to compete more effectively with the Soviet Union in Europe and in the Middle East makes it vitally important to ensure that the U.S. military establishment becomes as efficient as possible. Once, perhaps, we could afford gold-plated weapons, excessive bases, or useless reserve units, but we cannot any longer.

In seeking greater efficiency, the place to begin is with people. Today, military pay and allowances, civilian pay, and military retirement pensions together account for more than one-half of the defense budget. Training and medical care raise the proportion to 60 percent. Though the Defense Department has moved toward greater efficiency over the past two years, considerable savings are still possible.

For example, on the average, military personnel change assignments every fifteen months. Because of this high turnover, for fiscal year 1977 the administration requested $2.6 billion to pay for 1,685,000 moves and the extra people needed to offset time lost during moves. Increasing the average time between moves to eighteen months would save $500 million. Similarly, the ratio between students and instructors (plus supporting personnel) in military schools is presently about 2.2 to 1. Although comparisons are difficult, this seems to be a far richer ratio than prevails in almost any other educational community in the country. Increasing the military-school ratio to 3 to 1 would reduce the teaching staff by 30,000 and save nearly $400 million. All told, reforms aimed at cutting the Defense Department's support overhead could eventually reduce the number of defense employees by roughly 250,000 and the defense budget by about $3 billion.

Other aspects of the personnel system also need re-examination. Most fundamentally, a stem-to-stern reform of the military pay and retirement systems is long overdue. Both are excessively costly now that military pay scales are competitive with those in private industry. Reform must be instituted gradually, so that people now in the service are not

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disadvantaged. But regardless of time scale, reform would be better than inaction.

Waste can also be cut in weapon-acquisition programs. For years now, critics have been charging that new weapons are needlessly complicated and excessively advanced technologically, and that they are procured through a process that encourages waste and high price tags. There is certainly considerable evidence of the latter. In dollars of constant purchasing power, the Navy's F-14 fighter costs five times as much, and the Air Force's F-15 fighter three times as much, as the original cost of the F-4, the aircraft they are replacing. Similar comparisons could be made for most other weapons, ranging from warships to tanks. Most of this increase stems from the higher performance demanded of each new weapons generation, the need for which is not always self-evident.

Nowhere is this problem more apparent than in the matter of strategic nuclear forces. The United States is now modernizing all three offensive components of its strategic force—replacing B-52 bombers with the B-1, Polaris/Poseidon submarines with Trident submarines, and Minuteman intercontinental ballistic missiles with a new missile called M-X. The cost of all three programs will be upward of $60 billion. Although few dispute the need for modernization, there is considerable question about the characteristics of the specific systems that have been selected. Take the B-1 bomber, for example. The B-1 is an impressive aircraft designed to be able to penetrate advanced Soviet air defenses likely to exist at the end of the century. Given the demands of this mission, it is also an expensive aircraft—$94 million a copy, for openers. Yet the same mission could be accomplished with equal effectiveness by a cheaper aircraft which would stand off from the air-defense system and launch long-range missiles at its targets. The substitution of such a system for the B-1 would save between $10 and $15 billion over the next ten years.

THIS past year, more than any other since 1960, the nation's military posture was a major political issue. Ronald Reagan and Henry Jackson ran on planks that called for sharp increases in U.S. military spending. Their calls touched a nerve among the electorate, and in response, President Ford reversed decisions to cut the defense budget. Similarly, as the campaign wore on, Governor Carter tended to downplay the Democratic Party platform's call for a $5- to $7-billion reduction in defense.

But these events only highlighted an obvious fact of life: like any other important governmental policy, decisions on the U.S. military posture are affected—sometimes dominated—by politics. Manufacturers and labor unions take a strong interest in decisions on weapon systems; legislators watch zealously over defense installations (and thus payrolls) in their districts; organizations of retired, reserve, and active-duty military personnel keep close track of personnel issues; ethnic groups are concerned with changes in the military posture that might affect the futures of their forebears' homelands; and citizens throughout the nation are concerned with U.S. security. Making any meaningful change in the nation's military posture is difficult; the risks of departing from familiar patterns are generally more evident than those of sticking to the status quo.

These difficulties have been compounded in recent years because of the weakness of the executive branch. The excesses of two Presidents in Indochina caused the Congress to reassert its prerogatives in foreign affairs with a vengeance—often with good effect for defense policy, sometimes not. The President's clout weakened further as revelations of Watergate excesses caused many talented people to leave the bureaucracy. And, finally, as an appointed President, Ford lacked an independent base from which to govern. Thus, this administration is likely—at least in the beginning—to have somewhat greater freedom to place its own presidential stamp on the nation's defense policy. Still, it will be difficult to bring change. Here is what might help:

First, a more reasonable presentation of the facts of the Soviet military buildup. All too often, administration witnesses have tended to exaggerate Soviet strengths while neglecting to mention Soviet weaknesses. The imperatives to do so are clear—scare tactics help to garner support for defense budgets. Unfortunately, such tactics can eventually backfire when "threats" fail to materialize.

Second, greater openness with Congress. Having grabbed a more central role in defense and foreign-policy decision-making, Congress is not about to relinquish it. Rather than fighting Congress, the executive would be well advised to bring the legislative branch into its confidence more often and far earlier in the decision process.

Third, closer scrutiny of defense requests by the White House. Unlike other government agencies, the Defense Department's budget request is not the subject of formal independent review by the Office of Management and Budget; instead there is a joint review, which Defense representatives tend to dominate. Treating the defense budget like any other agency's budget request might help to catch problems before they get out of hand.

Fourth, and most importantly, a willingness on the part of the President to override the protests of special interests in favor of the nation's interest. Waste and inefficiency in the defense budget can be eliminated only if the White House is willing to expend political capital, as well as considerable time and energy, in shepherding proposed reforms through Congress. He can be helped by individuals on the Hill and in private life, but in the end, the buck stops at the President's desk.

ALL in all, the changes outlined here would not markedly alter the nation's military posture. They would make the armed forces a lot leaner and perhaps a whole lot meaner. They would shift resources from the Pacific to the Atlantic, from Asia to Europe, from manpower to equipment, from nuclear weapons to conventional weapons. But the changes would be mainly on the margin. The burden of defense would probably remain roughly where it is today—about 5.5 percent of the GNP. The defense budget would probably continue to increase in real terms, as it did last year, although at a lesser rate than that envisioned in last year's budget.

But the point now is not to bring about dramatic change—we have had that already over the past seven years—but, rather, to shape the nation's defense posture so that it is sustainable over the long haul. The need for military power is not going to disappear. The new administration will have to adjust defense policy so as to entice the popular support necessary for us to have enough. ◉

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Eurocommunism: A Foot in the Door or a Seat at the Table?

by Arrigo Levi

Is Eurocommunism going to be more of a problem for the President of the United States or for the Secretary-General of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union? Clearly, the progress of Eurocommunism has so far raised much greater worries in the West than in the East; but both superpowers have shown misgivings as to the possible destabilizing effects of Eurocommunism on the "domestic" policies of the area of the world more directly controlled or influenced by each of them, as well as on the global balance of power.

What displeases Brezhnev ought to please the American President, and vice versa. But things may not be that simple: Eurocommunism might be a challenge and a danger to both superpowers. In any case, it remains to be established whose fears may in the end be more justified and what policies ought to be followed to minimize the damage of Eurocommunism to one's own side or to help it in damaging the other.

First, what does the democratic world mean by "Eurocommunism"? We may define "Eurocommunism" as a new ideology and a new political movement of worldwide relevance and impact; it is, as well, a new version of communism, which maintains some of its original aims but accepts pluralistic democracy and the parliamentary system as essential for true socialism, in strategic and not just in tactical terms. Or we may define "Eurocommunism" as the policy followed by some communist parties of Western Europe, Japan, etc., at this time. I believe it is safer, for now, to adopt the latter definition and use the term in its narrower sense.

Foreign correspondent, TV commentator, and lecturer on Eastern Europe, Arrigo Levi is editor in chief of La Stampa *and* Stampa Sera.

Eurocommunism may stretch from Portugal across the southern underbelly of Europe, but as a force it starts with the Italian Communist Party. The PCI is the strongest communist party in the West. In the elections of last June, the communists got 34 percent of the vote, a spectacular increase of about 6 points; 38 percent went to the Christian Democrats. The PCI is now supporting the Christian Democratic government, led by Giulio Andreotti, which depends for a majority on communist votes and abstentions.

Most of the biggest cities in Italy (including Rome, Naples, Turin, Bologna) have communist mayors and are ruled by communist-led majorities. The same is true of some of the most important and advanced regions. A communist (Pietro Ingrao) is president of the Chamber of Deputies; since the last election some of the most vital parliamentary commissions have communist chairmen. The communists dominate the most important workers' unions and are strong in cultural institutions; they are no longer excluded from the independent press or from state-run television. On the other hand, one must point out that beyond the central government, the majority of Italian cities and regions, the presidency of the Republic, the bank, state industry—nearly the whole of the administration (including the police and, of course, the *carabinieri*)—remain mostly under Christian Democratic control. Still, the communist share of power has become definitely larger. Italy could even have communist ministers in the present legislature.

The problem of Eurocommunism—its challenge to the Western democratic traditions, as well as to the solidity of Western international institutions—coincides today, to a large extent, with the problem of Italy and the possibility of communist participation in government *in* Italy. It is true that in France the Left, including the socialist and communist parties, just failed to get its candidate (François Mitterrand) elected as President, and it may gain a majority in the next French parliamentary elections. French Eurocommunism, in that case, could become an equally serious cause for worry in the West. It isn't yet, for various reasons, principal among them the political fact that in France the socialists are stronger than the communists; the French com-

Bob Pelletier

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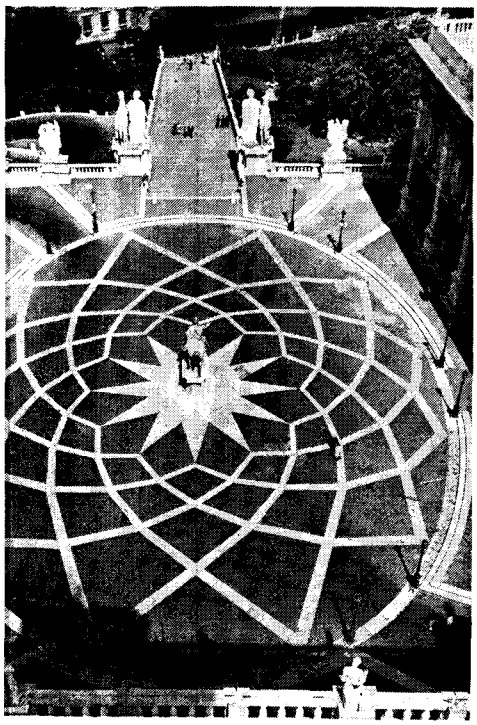
Charles Habib: Gamma

Italian Government T.O.



Berlinguer, above, Andreotti, below. Rome's Campidoglio, at left—"a danger that the prophecies of doom advanced by Western statesmen might become self-fulfilling."

Jean-Louis Urli: Gamma

munists never got much beyond 20 percent of the vote.

Somehow it doesn't seem possible that Georges Marchais' party may gain control over French politics. On the other hand, it must be pointed out that the French Communist Party is a much newer and visibly "tactical" follower of Eurocommunism: its conversion to the democratic ideals is not at all convincing.

Therefore, it is not safe to narrow down the problem of Eurocommunism to Italy alone. Difficulties might become greater, and the threat of instability for the Western alliance stronger, if "the Left" were to progress much further in France; the reciprocal influence between the two "Latin sisters" will be strong, and it will also be felt on the Iberian peninsula. For now, Eurocommunism means Italy.

Ever since the PCI's access to governmental power became a possibility, Italy's allies have been faced with difficult choices. They were aware that the PCI became stronger thanks to the weaknesses of Italian democratic parties and also as a result of the many failures of the Western democratic world as a whole. Italy's allies were unable to help (either directly or by a better management of Western economic affairs) Italy's democratic parties or force on them the necessary reforms. They could only repeatedly declare their alarm at the state of Italy and the progress of communism; but they realized that their warnings were considered by most Italians as "interferences" and threats to Italy's independence, and would produce, if repeated too often, negative effects. They also realized that should Italy's democratic processes lead to some form of coalition government including communists, any former commitment by Italy's allies to cut aid or to take economic reprisals against such a government might set in motion a fatal chain of consequences, leading inexorably to the very result that they would want to avoid—namely, the separation of Italy from European and Atlantic alliances and institutions. There was a danger that the prophecies of doom repeatedly advanced by Western statesmen as to the future of Italy under communist influence might become self-fulfilling prophecies. Therefore, in order to maintain a certain flexibility of choices for the future, warnings and threats against a future "communist government" (meaning a coalition government including PCI ministers) had to be moderated. A difficult balance had to be struck between opposing needs. Giving the impression that Italy's allies had resigned themselves to the inevitability of a communist victory would have been equally fatal, for it would have damaged Christian Democrats and other democratic parties.

THE result was that some Western governments (particularly the United States and Germany) declared their alarm much more forcefully than others (Britain and France) whose policy was "noninterference." At present the Andreotti government, although supported by the PCI, receives the usual amount of cooperation from its allies. It must be added that in spite of former warnings against communist participation in government, in Italy it is generally believed (rightly or wrongly) that should this happen, no drastic countermeasures would be taken by Italy's allies. But even communists understand consequences could be serious.

It is felt that such a coalition government would meet with immediate and perhaps extreme economic difficulties stemming from the natural reaction of Italian and foreign economic forces, including flight of capital and withdrawal of multinational companies. This would certainly happen even if a communist Minister of the Treasury were to prove better able to control union demands than his Christian Democratic predecessors ever were. According to such a scenario, the first problem for Italy's allies would be to decide whether they should maintain or stop their support of a (by definition) shaky Italian economy if faced with a "communist" government or communist ministers. Should they avoid taking political steps that might increase the general panic and tension? (All this assumes that no Italian withdrawal from NATO or from the EEC would be expected. The communist commitment on this point is clear. Withdrawal would not be in their interest, and they would have difficulty forming a coalition whose purposes would include withdrawal.)

Continued on page 18

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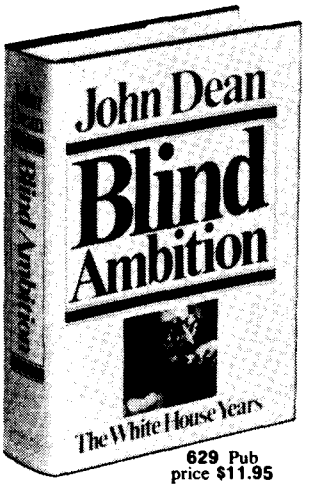

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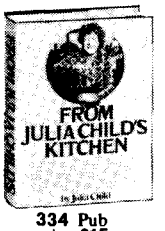

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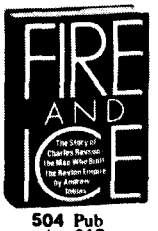

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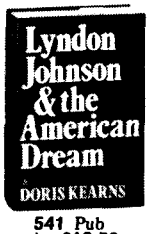

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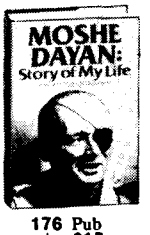

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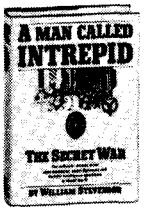

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Alain Nogues: Gamma

Mitterrand of France—"Communists are weaker in France than in Italy, weaker still in Spain."

It is reasonable to expect that opinions would then be divided. Some would say, stop the rot, at the cost of expelling Italy from the Western alliances, legally or otherwise. Others would claim that, Italy not being comparable to Portugal, and the fate of Italy still being undecided, all efforts should be made to keep it inside the Western institutions—why throw Italy "into the arms of Russia"?

It is possible that this second set of reasons would prevail, at least for a period of "trial," as the less obviously costly strategy; but Western mistrust of Italy could not be hidden, and some effects would be immediately felt, both on the economy and on NATO. The PCI has repeatedly stated that it doesn't want Italy to leave NATO, in order to avoid upsetting the global balance of power; Enrico Berlinguer has also said, on the eve of the last elections, that he deems it safer to build "democratic socialism" on *this* rather than on *that* side of Europe. But the deep psychological links that still exist between Italy's communists and Soviet Russia would leave great uncertainties as to the future "loyalty" of a "communist" Italy, in case of future crises. Recently, toward such problems as Lebanon or Rhodesia, the PCI has somewhat automatically taken the usual pro-Soviet attitude.

In this sense, a weakening of ties with the West, a reduction of certainties, would be unavoidable if Italy were to be ruled by a coalition government including the PCI. The Western alliance would be shaken and weakened. Still, this would not necessarily justify immediate and dramatic initiatives by Italy's allies (to what end?); it would suggest, at first, a wary "wait and see" attitude.

It is not sensible, at this stage, to go any further in the attempt to make forecasts. A warning is necessary against the widely held assumption that, "Eurocommunism" being a Latin affair, all of Latin Europe—indeed, all of southern Mediterranean Europe—is going to follow Italy's example and fate. Communists remain far weaker in France than in Italy, and even weaker in Spain, Portugal, Greece, or Turkey than in France. Democracy is a fairly rare form of government on the face of the earth. But in the Western area of the world, which is also by far the most advanced, communism remains a "local" movement. In the new European Parliament, communists will form a clearly regional, minority grouping: an anomaly of the Left, a "socialist heresy." Also, the cause of democracy has lately been strengthened, rather unexpectedly, in Spain, Portugal, and Greece. On the whole, the southern flank of democratic Europe is not necessarily weaker today than it was a couple of years ago. Let me add that most communist supporters in Italy are sincerely (though confusedly) democratic. Many anticommunist Italians (including this writer) believe that Italy would preserve a strong chance of "staying West" and remaining a democracy even if the communists acquired a larger share of government power than they already have.

Eurocommunism cannot be considered a purely "tactical" device for the conquest of power (quite a few people believe that this is what it is). The majority of Italian democratic leaders feel today that there is more to it than pure tactics and make-believe. Eurocommunism might be a *maladie de croissance* for a country of "delayed development" like Italy—an anomalous, hybrid political movement for an anomalous, hybrid Western democratic country. One cannot forget that Italy was the birthplace of what is today the most widespread ideology and form of government in developing countries: fascism. In this old land, history is following untrodden paths: there are few certainties; Italy's future cannot be forecast by judging from past events elsewhere.

We are facing unusual challenges and dangers, and can also meet unusual opportunities. Why should we lose faith in the value of democratic ideals when we see how clearly they are maintaining all their original revolutionary potential, not just in the West but even more in the communist half of the world? Democracy, not communism, is the ghost haunting today's world. However imperfect and dubious, the "conversion" of Italian and other Western communists to "democratic pluralism" is also a result of the influence of democratic ideas on them and on communism in general.

AT THIS point, attention must be paid to that alternative interpretation of the term "Eurocommunism": a new ideology, a heretical movement capable of influencing communist parties and regimes all over the world—which, in a sense, it is. This writer's view is that it is safer today to assume that "communism is dead, but many communisms are alive." There seems to be a natural tendency for communist parties to split, if only they can, from the main body of Soviet-led communism, in order to develop better their own national and ideological identity once they are in power. Of course, the Soviet Union is not in the least resigned to such a state of affairs. Wherever it can, it will continue using force

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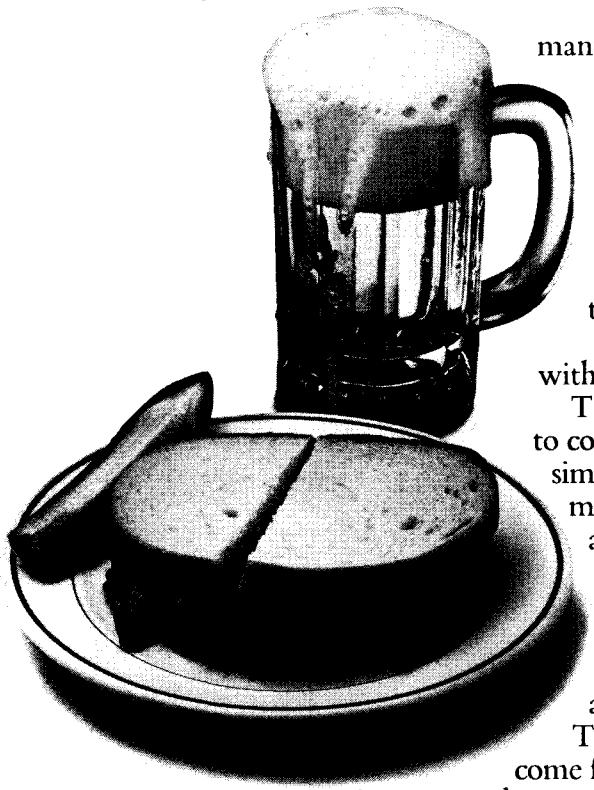

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Tito and wife at Brioni—"will post-Tito Yugoslavia stay independent of the Soviets?"

against all potential Dubčeks; even now it is trying once more to take advantage of economic difficulties in Eastern Europe to strengthen its hold on the whole region (including Rumania and, perhaps tomorrow, even Yugoslavia itself).

But this is not necessarily a proof of Soviet strength and confidence in the solidity of communist regimes. It may show exactly the opposite, an awareness of not-so-hidden weakness. Soviet leaders are aware of the many contradictions existing in the world they control: between economic progress and political backwardness; between national interests; between Russian domination and the historic "westward tendency" of most East European nations. The men in the Kremlin have shown that they fear the influence of détente, nor have they hidden their dislike of the "Eurocommunists" of Italy, Spain, and France, whose influence on the "satellites" might be bad. They are trying to contain the spread of such influence, but the rules of this game are still unclear. Eurocommunism, in a sense, is an accident of détente, the product of a new "strategy of movement" that has taken the place of the traditional "trench warfare" of the Cold War period. As such, Eurocommunism surely offers a challenge —that is, both dangers and opportunities—to both sides.

Some Western experts believe that even if Eurocommunism were to prove a "time bomb" under the old structures of Soviet power, it would not help potential "liberal" reformers in Eastern Europe. On the contrary, by weakening at the same time both American and Soviet power, the Eurocommunists would only manage to endanger the very foundations of peace and détente, that is, the "status quo" and the global balance of force. The result, as a reaction, would be an even more authoritarian turn in the history of Soviet power. It may be so, but all such detailed forecasts are much too clever; in the end, history always turns out to be simpler, as well as richer in fantasy and invention, than the imagination of any political scientist. And we can't forecast the influence of "personal" factors. At present, President Tito's great age is the most widely discussed factor of this sort, but nobody can answer with safety the obvious questions: will post-Tito Yugoslavia stay independent of the Soviets? And if it doesn't, will this attract Italy's Eurocommunists once more toward their Muscovite mecca, or will it instead precipitate, in self-defense, their Western choices and make them final and irreversible?

American missiles in Naples during NATO ceremonies—"into the arms of Russia"?

UPI

If faced with such questions, we must admit that certainties are scarce. For instance, we know that there are today no acknowledged "Moscow men" in the leadership of the Italian Communist Party; but Berlinguer's "moderation" meets with misgivings and even open criticism inside the PCI. His "general line" is not unchangeable.

So we are left with purely negative assurances: above all, we know that the rise of Eurocommunism is going to be a factor of instability, not just in Italy, not just in the West, and not just in Europe, for quite some time. To face this challenge, to take advantage of possible opportunities and avoid the obvious dangers, a new strategy will have to be invented, day by day. It is not safe to start with too many certainties. Automatic reactions, in accordance with the set of rules long established under the chapter "How to Deal with Communism," might be just as wrong as denying all validity to past experience. Our motto (a sober one) might be: keep an open mind, and be wary.

The many communisms of today might prove to be even more dangerous to democracy than the monolithic communism of Stalin's time. Therefore, instead of spending too much time wondering about Eurocommunists (they may be a mystery even to themselves), the democratic West ought to concentrate its attention on the hasty construction and completion of Western and worldwide institutions, in order to strengthen our economies and our societies and to contain within a more stable framework the great risks of Eurocommunism.

A well-managed international economy, an imaginative approach in the West to the problem of democratic government in advanced nations, would reassure us about the future of countries affected by Eurocommunism. The present state of international affairs, to be honest, is not at all encouraging. This may be an "interdependent" world; but it is also a world of discontinuity, where illnesses spread at electronic speeds throughout the world, whereas cures are still, more often than not, provided separately and in great confusion by national governments. An "institutional" approach to the problem of organizing a better management of world problems has not received much attention (especially, but not only, by America) during the last few years. A lot of time has been wasted, and in the atomic age, the supply of time is not unlimited. ◉

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Confessions of a Member of the Silent Minority.

I am a businessman.
That makes me a member of a minority group.
I love the business world.
I enjoy helping to make it work.
I'm proud of what it's done for America, and I intend to help make it do more. But there are things about the business world that are troubling me.

One of the major ones is our almost unbroken silence at a time when we should be speaking up on a whole range of problems and issues.
Yet, I and most of my fellow businessmen are among America's most skilled practitioners of the art of speaking up—to our fellow businessmen.

When I let off steam about the government or whatever to another businessman, I get a warm feeling. I feel secure, and I know the other guy feels secure because we are speaking the same language. I have reasonable assurance of agreement from a sympathetic audience, and so does the other businessman. And we can both enjoy the illusion of having spoken our pieces.

Squeaking wheels get the grease.

But usually in the back of my mind is the knowledge that other people—both inside and outside our business system—go uninformed. I'm sure that most of them don't even know what the system is. I'm sure that most of them don't know whether proposed changes in the system are good or bad or how their lives will be affected. I'm sure, too, that without much knowledge of the system, most people are prone to be easily swayed by the loudest, most persistent voices. And I know that those loudest, most persistent voices are *not* coming from business. (After all, we businessmen are too busy muttering into each other's ears.)

So is it any wonder that the voices from people in government, on the campus and others outside business are major mind-shapers and forces for change in the business world? And of course, government in particular goes on its merry way without much fear of a fight from business, no matter what government does.

Sympathy in the bank.

It bothers me to think that a lot of harm to business could have been avoided completely if only my comrades and I had behaved differently.
If I had only taken my thoughts and arguments to employees and the general public via the press, via speeches, via advertising, via any means at my command, I feel sure that I would have a big bank of sympathy out there. And I think that any threat to business would be anathema to most people.

Feisty. (Feisty?) Yes, feisty.

If I and my comrades had only adopted a feisty attitude, I think things would be different. If any advocate of change had been assured a continuing, widespread, hot vocal reception unless his program was thoroughly worked out and clearly a change for the better, I think a lot of dumb programs would never have surfaced. And I think that many a flaky idea, as yet unformed, would never surface in the future.
I know that by talking too much with others of my own kind, I have kept myself from giving business the kind of support it's hurting for.
So how long will I continue to be a silent minority?
I may turn around tomorrow and start to become a very vocal one. Or I may get so quickly reabsorbed in business as usual that I let the whole matter fade away to the back of my mind.
But if that happens, I'll have at least one person to blame for whatever harm befalls business in the future.
And I will be that person.
Who am I?
I am you.

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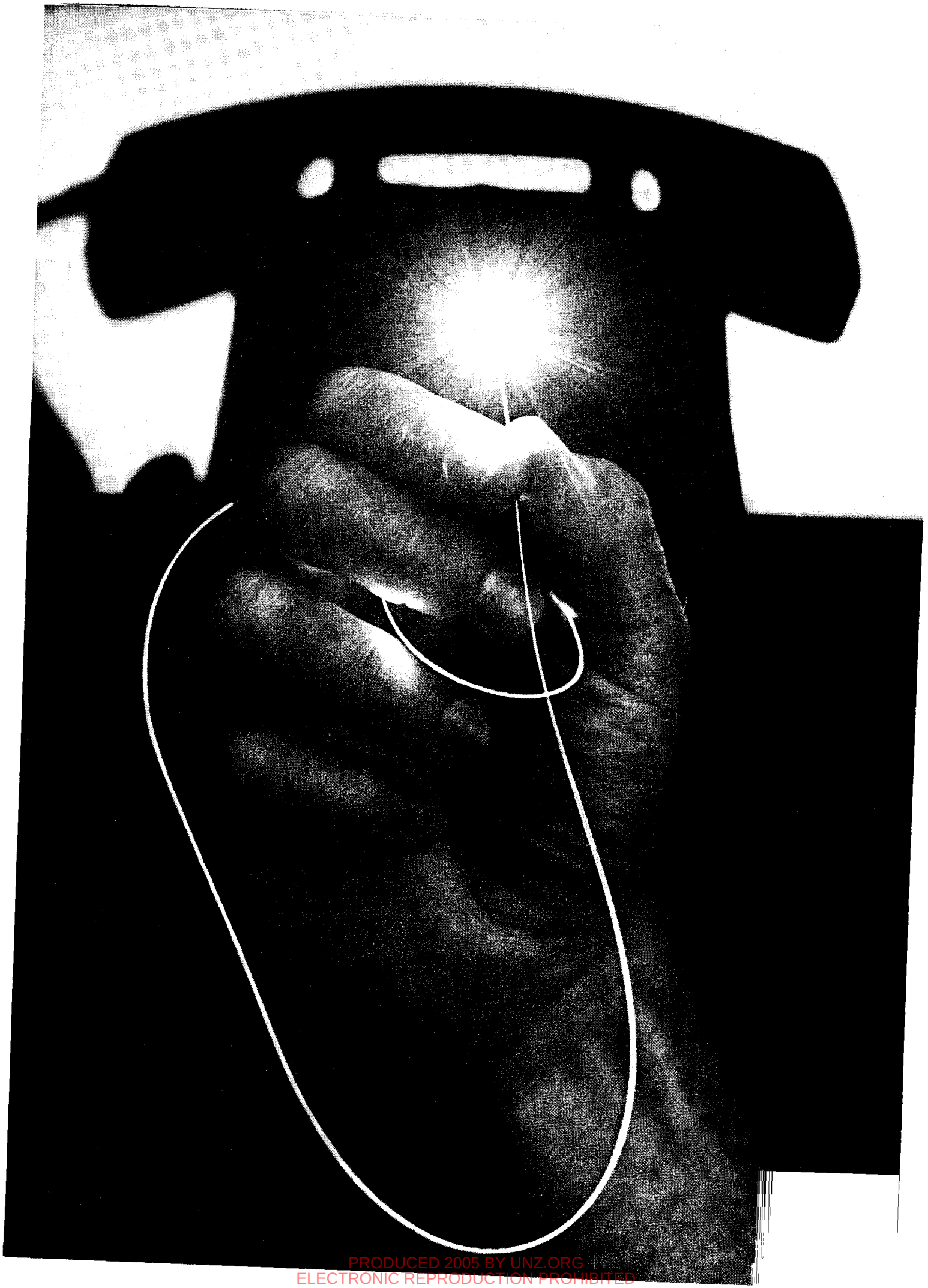

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Hear the light.

Today, communications may be at the threshold of another revolution in technology.

Someday soon, when you make a phone call, your voice may be carried between telephone offices as pulses of light over a hair-thin glass fiber.

We call this new technology lightwave communications.

Less Cost, Less Space:

Lightwave communications has the potential for carrying enormous quantities of information—from phone calls to business data to TV programs—at low cost. And it can do it in much less space.

Right now, we're testing an experimental system that can carry nearly 50,000 phone calls in a cable of glass fibers not much thicker than a clothesline. It could do the work of several copper cables, each as thick as your arm.

That will allow us to save space in the crowded cable ducts under the streets of many of our cities. Which in turn will lessen the need to add new cable ducts to expand service.

But even carrying that many calls uses only a fraction of a light beam's capacity.

So it will give us plenty of room to grow.

To make lightwave communications possible, the people at Bell Labs and Western Electric attacked a number of problems simultaneously.

What Had to be Done:

What kind of problems?

Creating some of the most transparent glass the world has ever known.

Developing techniques to draw the glass into highly precise fibers which, despite their tiny size, have a complex internal structure that keeps the light from leaking out.

Devising ways to protect the delicate fibers from damage, to make them into cables strong enough to pull through underground ducts, and to splice them—a hundred or more at a time.

To generate the light carried by the fibers, they developed a tiny, solid-state laser smaller than a grain of salt. (Today's design is expected to operate continuously for ten years or more.)

To put information onto the light beam, they designed equipment that turns the tiny laser on and off millions of times a second.

And they developed repeaters to regenerate the light signal along its way, as well as photodetectors at the receiving end to convert the light back into an electrical signal that can travel throughout the telephone network.

We think lightwave communications may prove a long step forward in the development of communications.

We may put it to use in the early 1980's to relieve cable congestion between major switching centers. For special applications, we may use it even sooner.

And it may someday carry business data, visual communication services and facsimile transmission into your home and office.

Seeing to It:

Innovations from Bell Labs and Western Electric are put to work by your Bell telephone company. That's another reason you have the most reliable, least expensive telephone service in the world.

To keep it that way, one of the things we're doing is seeing to it that before long you'll be hearing the light.

One of a series of messages to keep you informed of how telecommunications technology is changing our world—and the part Bell Labs, Western Electric and your Bell telephone company are playing in it.

Bell Laboratories/Western Electric

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Anthony Howarth: Black Star

United States Army unit parades in Seoul—"what are America's real interests in this part of the world?"

Lighted Fuses in Asia

Changes in China, the leftward shift in post-Lockheed Japan, and a jittery Korea are minefields along the path to the East

by Stanley Karnow

ASIAN nations are, in different ways and to different degrees, going through internal changes that are bound to sway their attitudes toward one another and toward the United States. Therefore, just as Richard Nixon began to alter the U.S. posture in the Far East soon after taking office eight years ago, so Jimmy Carter as the incoming Chief Executive will have to make further adjustments in order to adapt to present and potential shifts in the region.

At this early stage, questions outnumber answers. How will the power struggle convulsing China in the wake of Mao Tse-tung's death affect Peking's relations with the United States, the Soviet Union, and Japan and the rest of the area? Is Japan, shaken by the Lockheed scandals, heading into a period that could reshape its outlook? Can the fragile peace be preserved in the Korean peninsula? Will the Vietnamese communists, flushed with their victory over the United States and its Saigon client, seek to impose their influence elsewhere in Southeast Asia? Can such countries as Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines, where political institutions are feeble, maintain their stability? And, above all, what are America's real interests in this part of the world —and are they matched by U.S. capabilities?

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's principal shortcoming, it seems to me, has been his belief that international order would be promoted if the main power centers—the United States, the Soviet Union, Western Europe, Japan, and China—could reach an accommodation. But this notion proved to be too abstract primarily because the major powers exercised only a limited influence over smaller countries that could, despite their weakness, play a disruptive role. Kissinger himself gradually perceived this fact as he realized that neither the Russians nor the Chinese could help him achieve a settlement in Vietnam and that the Arab oil producers were beyond the control of the industrial nations. Thus, he had become a tactician—shuttling around southern Africa, striving to paste together deals between whites and blacks and inadvertently demonstrating in the process that his grandiose ideas had not been workable.

Drawing on Kissinger's experience, therefore, the new President ought to have learned that global concepts, though attractive on paper, may not mean much in reality. Nowhere is this more true than in Asia, where the domestic dynamics of states are the key to their conduct. And nowhere in Asia is this inward focus more important than in China.

Those of us who accompanied Nixon on his first journey

A syndicated columnist and a contributing editor of Newsweek International, *Stanley Karnow is the author of* Mao and China: From Revolution to Revolution.

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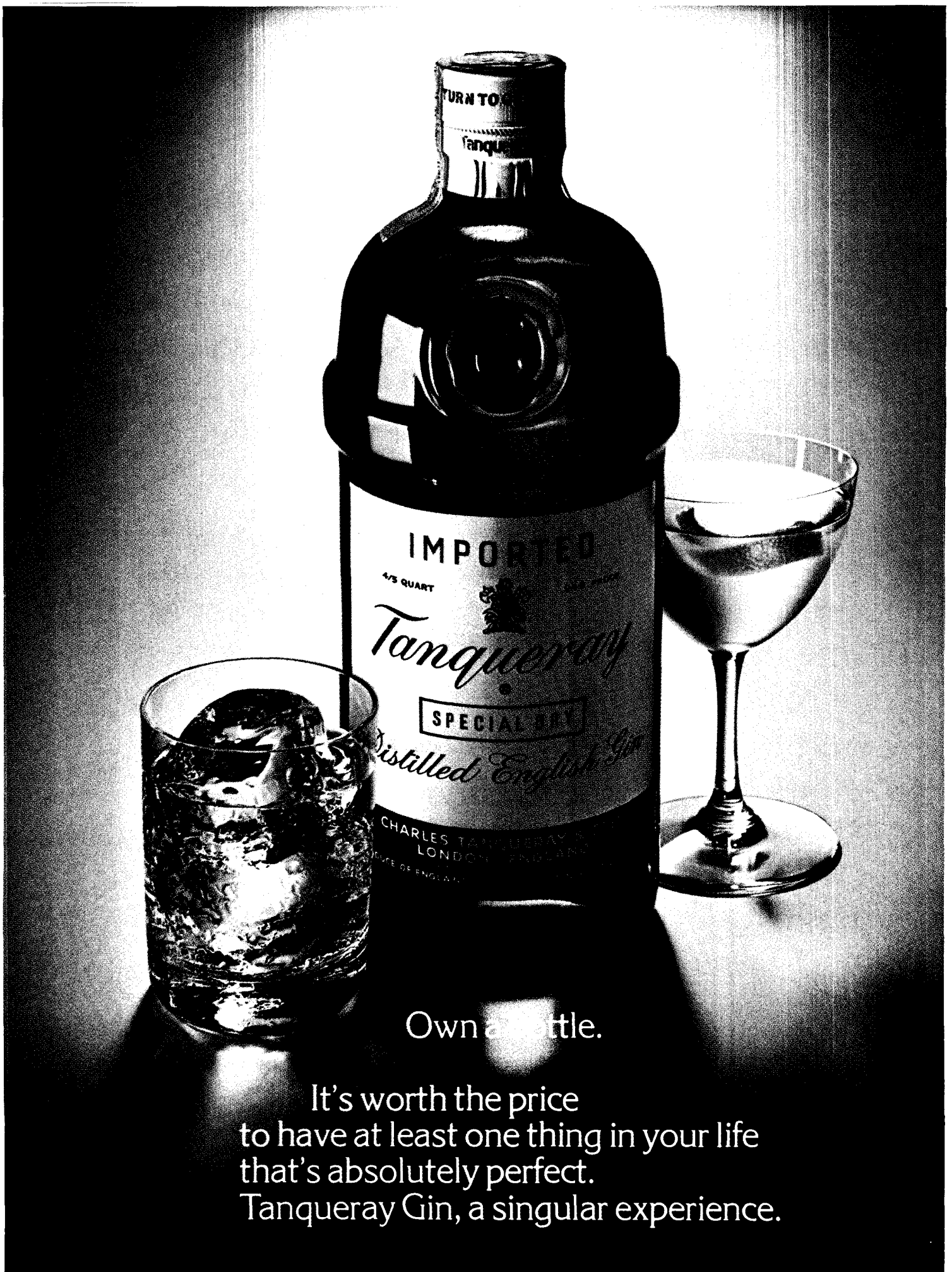

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to Peking nearly five years ago were led to expect at the time that the United States and the People's Republic of China would rapidly move toward formal ties. But upheavals inside China, as well as the troubles that beset both the Nixon and Ford administrations, have combined to block diplomatic progress. Thus the prospect of a firmer U.S. link with Peking may be remote. For the leaders in the United States and in China are at the moment too sensitive to pressures at home to work out the kinds of compromises necessary to advance their relationship. The rapprochement that was proceeding so vigorously in 1972 has been, if not derailed, at least seriously sidetracked—and this could augur difficulties for U.S. foreign policy.

The new President had expressed the hope during the election campaign, for example, that China might be brought into discussions aimed at lowering tensions in Korea. But it now looks as if those discussions may be delayed until a more solid Sino-American link can be forged. It is equally doubtful that the Chinese will cooperate to control the spread of nuclear weapons, sponsor joint energy projects, and take part in other international efforts.

There is the possibility that the Chinese, in the absence of closer bonds with the United States, may seek to settle their dispute with the Soviet Union, perhaps on a limited basis. Such a development would reduce Washington's leverage in negotiations with the Kremlin.

In addition, China specialists anticipate gloomily that the Sino-American relationship may erode unless the present deadlock is broken. Among other things, they foresee the Chinese taking a harder line toward scientific, cultural, and other exchange programs, and even harassing U.S. companies trying to do business with Peking. Thomas G. Corcoran, the prominent Washington lawyer and former adviser to Franklin D. Roosevelt, recently described China's approach to commerce as a form of "political warfare" in which the Americans can operate only at a disadvantage.

THE apparent obstacle to an improvement in U.S. relations with Peking is the question of Taiwan, the island bastion of the Chinese Nationalists since 1949, when the communists drove them out of the mainland. The United States not only has full diplomatic links with the Nationalists' regime but is pledged to protect the island through a pact. But the Taiwan question is less a juridical impediment to better Sino-American ties than it is a symbol of considerable proportions both in the United States and in China.

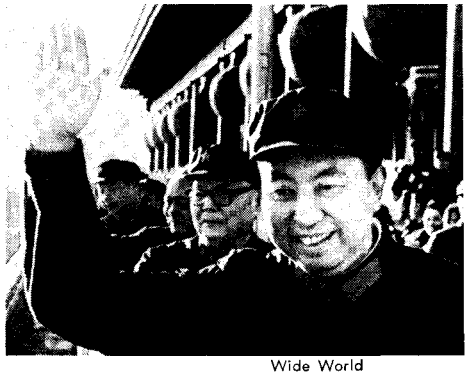
The Peking government has said that it cannot establish official relations with Washington until the defense treaty with Taiwan is scrapped. According to this argument, a foreign country cannot legitimately maintain a pact with a province of China—which is what Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Strait regard the island to be. Senior American officials privately concede this point. But they have contended that for the sake of U.S. opinion, no deal can be made unless Peking either publicly pledges to resolve the issue peacefully or, by prearrangement, promises to accept quietly a unilateral American statement asserting that we would not tolerate an attack on Taiwan.

Such a deal could have been made in early 1973, when Nixon was riding high following the Vietnam cease-fire agreement and when Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai, then Mao's prime minister, were plainly in command in China. But Nixon procrastinated. Watergate intervened, and President Ford's plans to cement the bond with Peking were stalled by the U.S. setback in Vietnam and later by the election campaign. Meanwhile, Chou died and Mao's health deteriorated, and the squabbling for authority among their rival successors ruled out any compromise with the United States, especially on the touchy Taiwan problem. Since Mao's death in September, the succession scramble has intensified, and the situation in China will be unstable for some time to come. The chance of a Chinese understanding with the United States appears to be slim.

To be sure, Premier Hua Kuo-feng has dramatically eliminated Mao's wife, Chiang Ching, along with the other so-called radicals who were probably most hostile to bargaining with the United States. But Hua and his moderate supporters cannot easily backtrack on the subject of Taiwan, for a couple of reasons. In the first place, those ousted by Hua were not isolated figures but, rather, the visible chiefs of factions throughout China that prefer sustained revolutionary fervor to his brand of pragmatism. Hua therefore faces a long and arduous fight as he strives to consolidate his influence, and he cannot afford to expose himself to his radical adversaries by appearing to surrender to the U.S. "imperialists" on such an explosive issue as Taiwan. The status of the island is, moreover, a matter of national honor, which transcends the ideological divergences of the Chinese, and Hua certainly shares that view. So he is, for sincere motives, stymied by his principles.

Carter knows well that sentiment in the United States, though favorable to links with Peking, is cool to the idea of bartering away Taiwan. Both candidates reflected that senti-

Magnum



Wide World

Mao and Hua—"favorable to Peking, but cool to the idea of bartering away Taiwan."

ment accurately in the foreign-policy debate held in October and, in so doing, bluntly rejected Peking's demands. Kissinger, who has held a vested interest in the China connection, has predicted that U.S. relations with Peking will not change substantially. But experts on his staff, speaking covertly, are less optimistic.

One group in Washington, which includes former Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger, has cautiously suggested that the United States furnish the Chinese with military equipment in order to reinforce their ability to deter the Russians and, in the process, to dissuade them from reviving the Sino-Soviet alliance that flourished in the 1950s. This proposal is predicated on the conjecture that with Mao gone, many top Chinese officers may estimate that a settlement with Moscow is the only way to avoid a repetition of the

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clashes with the Russians that, in 1969, nearly erupted in war. But here again, the factional friction nagging China makes decisions difficult. For elements inside the Chinese military establishment have opposed dependence on the United States for weapons. They have agreed, however, to purchase sophisticated American computers that could be used for defense purposes.

To keep the tenuous Sino-American relationship alive, Carter will find that his range of choices is narrow. He will have to wait until the complicated Chinese political game is played out before he can hope for a positive response to initiatives.

TURNING to Japan, meanwhile, he will also observe that America's most intimate ally in Asia is similarly roiled in domestic problems that could fray its ties with the United States.

Until last winter, Japan seemed to be a model of political equilibrium, largely because the governing Liberal Democratic Party, though a coalition composed of diverse interests, had held together with such remarkable cohesion. But this balance has been falling apart ever since February, during two days of which Senator Frank Church's Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations revealed that the Lockheed Corporation had spent millions of dollars on bribes to senior Japanese politicians in order to sell its aircraft in Japan. The evidence indicated that not only had the money been channeled through Yoshio Kodama, an unsavory character convicted of war crimes, but that the Central Intelligence Agency had apparently been involved in the operation. The shock caused by the disclosure was compounded five months later, when no less a figure than Kakuei Tanaka, the former prime minister, was arrested on charges of having personally taken more than a million dollars from Lockheed. The affair, which has not yet been entirely unraveled, is ultimately expected to have a greater impact on Japan than the Watergate scandal had on America. For it has struck at the heart of the Japanese belief in the necessity for government and business to cooperate closely. And it has raised critical questions about Japan's alliance with the United States, which growing numbers of Japanese now regard to have been a corrupting influence. Many Japanese are persuaded, in fact, that some of the Lockheed money found its way back to Richard Nixon in the form of illegal contributions to his 1972 presidential campaign.

Tanaka, left; Miki, right; and below, the plane that caused the uproar—"roiled in problems that could fray its U.S. ties."

Keystone

Keystone

UPI

To appreciate the depths to which the Lockheed scandal has rocked Japan, it is important to understand the Japanese political system and its evolution since the end of World War II. Though outwardly democratic, the Japanese political structure is elitist in the sense that it is run by a complex power machine composed of politicians, bureaucrats, and businessmen. The embodiment of this machine has been the Liberal Democratic Party, which surfaced in 1954 as a merger of five conservative movements. The Japanese public accepted and respected this "power elite" because it was responsible for making Japan one of the world's most economically successful nations. It was, in short, the force behind "Japan, Inc."—the term devised to portray succinctly the Japanese economic miracle.

Tanaka, who had been ousted as prime minister in November, 1974, after being implicated in an earlier scandal, was succeeded by Takeo Miki, the head of a minor faction within the Liberal Democratic Party. Miki, who had been selected by the party bosses as a compromise leader, was supposed to rule only until the bigger factions sorted out their differences. But when the Lockheed affair broke, he committed the unpardonable sin of pushing ahead with investigations that have exposed several of his most prestigious colleagues. He violated an unwritten rule of Japanese politics, moreover, by circumventing the Liberal Democratic Party and mobilizing popular support. As a result, he has driven a wedge between the party and public opinion, and the outcome of his action may serve to strengthen the socialists and communists, whose presence has been steadily increasing in Japan's cities.

The Lockheed scandal has already disturbed the Japanese deeply by prompting them to question, for the first time in a generation, whether their national pursuit of profit has been achieved at the cost of more important moral values. The growing mood of doubt is especially marked among young Japanese, significant numbers of whom are turning away from corporate careers and, like American youths during the Watergate period, focusing instead on law. In the estimation of Yasushi Hara, an editor of Tokyo's *Asahi Shimbun*, this may gradually slow down the dynamism of the Japanese economy.

The potential rise of the Japanese leftists, meanwhile, poses a particular challenge to the United States. The U.S. defense treaty with Japan is the fulcrum of American policy in the western Pacific. It is also backed by the Chinese, who welcome continued U.S. influence in Japan as both a deterrent to the Soviet Union and a guarantee against the recrudescence of Japanese militarism. A leftist threat to the defense treaty, therefore, would destabilize the region. There is, moreover, the possibility that the emergence of the radicals may trigger a reaction from the Japanese right-wing extremists. A polarized political situation, needless to say, would be shattering to Japan.

Continued on page 28

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America: Our

If you had it your way, what would you want our country to be like by the time of the Tricentennial?

Please tell us by completing this questionnaire.

It's not difficult; you can complete it in only a few minutes. But because it touches on so many aspects of our life, it can also take many days. And be prepared: some of the questions go to the very heart of the way we live and could possibly make you angry. That's not our purpose. We want your opinions.

We ran this ad last June in a number of national magazines. The percentages shown represent the 15,657 responses we received. We think you'll find them interesting.

The Tricentennial 2076

1. In the future, I would like people to be able to retire at an early age.
AGREE ☐ 46.9 DISAGREE ☐ 46.1 NO OPINION ☐ 7.3
2. I would like to work 'til the day I die.
AGREE ☐ 27.4 DISAGREE ☐ 58 NO OPINION ☐ 6.7
3. I hope future Americans live in a communal setting, rather than in the traditional family unit.
AGREE ☐ 7.5 DISAGREE ☐ 88.4 NO OPINION ☐ 4.1
4. I believe education in the future should be career oriented.
AGREE ☐ 62.3 DISAGREE ☐ 31.9 NO OPINION ☐ 5.8
5. I want education to be concerned with liberal arts and culture.
AGREE ☐ 54.2 DISAGREE ☐ 33 NO OPINION ☐ 11.9
6. I want stronger Federal government.
AGREE ☐ 65.3 DISAGREE ☐ 30.4 NO OPINION ☐ 4.3
7. I would like stronger local governments.
AGREE ☐ 84.3 DISAGREE ☐ 9.3 NO OPINION ☐ 6.4
8. I hope that all legal disputes, except for criminal cases, will be settled by computer.
AGREE ☐ 20.1 DISAGREE ☐ 70.1 NO OPINION ☐ 9.9
9. I hope the government provides more aid to amateur athletics.
AGREE ☐ 37.8 DISAGREE ☐ 54 NO OPINION ☐ 8.2
10. The government should give more support to entertainment and the arts.
AGREE ☐ 32.1 DISAGREE ☐ 61 NO OPINION ☐ 6.9
11. I hope there is a resurgence of faith and a reaffirmation of the meaning of religion.
AGREE ☐ 75.5 DISAGREE ☐ 11.4 NO OPINION ☐ 13.2
12. We should replace individual autos with Public Transportation.
AGREE ☐ 52.9 DISAGREE ☐ 40.7 NO OPINION ☐ 6.4
13. I believe energy problems will continue at least until the year 2000.
AGREE ☐ 83 DISAGREE ☐ 11.5 NO OPINION ☐ 5.5
14. I would like communications to be so rapid and thorough that people can vote directly on all major government decisions.
AGREE ☐ 53.6 DISAGREE ☐ 40.1 NO OPINION ☐ 6.3
15. I would like Americans in the future to be less concerned about the rest of the world and more concerned with our own ability to maintain our standard of living.
AGREE ☐ 49.1 DISAGREE ☐ 47.9 NO OPINION ☐ 3.8
16. I feel the nation will be better when there is no racial, sexual or religious discrimination and all groups have equal power.
AGREE ☐ 87.7 DISAGREE ☐ 5.3 NO OPINION ☐ 8
17. I believe universal health care should become a right that's guaranteed by the government.
AGREE ☐ 44.6 DISAGREE ☐ 50.4 NO OPINION ☐ 5.1
18. I would like to keep the nation's population down through the use of mandatory birth control.
AGREE ☐ 12 DISAGREE ☐ 87.4 NO OPINION ☐ 4.6
19. Government regulations should limit the structure, size, and profits of all major corporations.
AGREE ☐ 23.5 DISAGREE ☐ 72.3 NO OPINION ☐ 4.3
20. I think big government is more desirable than big business.
AGREE ☐ 13.1 DISAGREE ☐ 77.1 NO OPINION ☐ 9.8
21. I want labor unions to be more strictly controlled.
AGREE ☐ 83.1 DISAGREE ☐ 9.6 NO OPINION ☐ 7.1
22. I believe there must be greater individual sacrifice to protect the environment.
AGREE ☐ 85.2 DISAGREE ☐ 9.8 NO OPINION ☐ 5
23. Life in general will be better for the next generation of Americans.
AGREE ☐ 48.8 DISAGREE ☐ 35.4 NO OPINION ☐ 16.1

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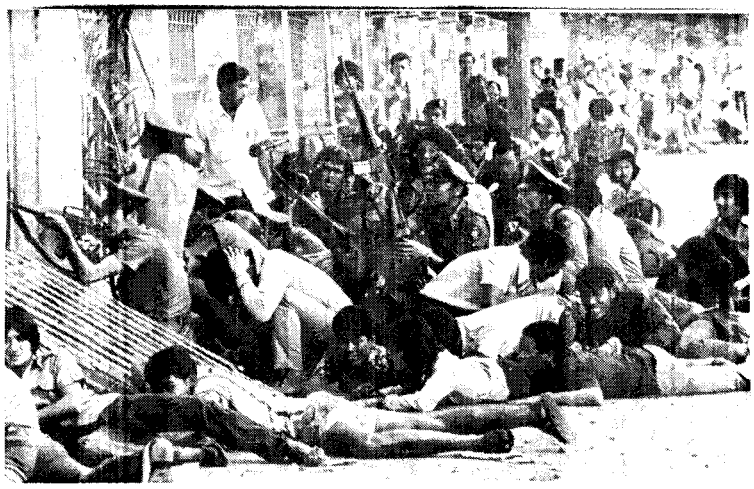

UPI

Bangkok in the October coup—"brutally overthrown by a clique of American protégés."

Although his capacity to affect Japanese feelings is restricted, the President does have a significant card to play in Japan. Until now, the administration in Washington has placed conditions on the information about Lockheed's activities that it would supply to the Japanese government, and this has created the impression in Japan that the United States has something to hide. A new administration, however, can provide Japan with all the evidence available and thereby signal to the Japanese people that it shares their concern over the scandal. Such an approach would have the salutary effect of assuring the Japanese that the United States is committed to their nation rather than to the Liberal Democratic Party.

ANOTHER problem area on the incoming President's Asian agenda is the Korean peninsula, and here there are issues that are moral as well as strategic. For the United States, in fulfilling its obligation to defend South Korea, has been propping up a regime in Seoul that is nearly as repressive as its communist enemy in the North. During his debate with Jimmy Carter before the election, Ford virtually admitted that he had failed to persuade South Korean President Park Chung Hee to liberalize his government. At the same time, though, Ford sought to validate Park's dictatorship on the grounds that the communists menace South Korea. This amounts, in essence, to the thesis that totalitarian regimes are justified in endangered countries.

The dilemma posed by the Korean situation—and others like it elsewhere in the world—is not easy to resolve. South Korea must be protected in order to discourage the North Koreans from an attack that would, like the Korean War, which began in 1950, have vast international repercussions. But the new President can assist South Korea without endorsing Park Chung Hee's repression, through a discriminatory U.S. assistance program. For example, he can furnish the South Korean Army with defensive weapons but withhold aid from the police and internal-security forces that persecute the country's dissidents. The new administration, with congressional cooperation, could enforce these constraints on Park by attaching strings to U.S. help to his regime that require him to show more tolerance toward his political opponents. Above all, Carter as President can make it plain that American support for South Korea does not imply approval of the Park government but has been undertaken solely for strategic motives. These measures would not only clarify the U.S. position but also mirror the desire of most Americans, who, according to a recent State Department survey, believe that the foreign policy of the United States woefully ignores "human rights."

The Carter administration will face similar situations in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand—Southeast Asian lands, reliant on the United States, in which democracy has been abridged. From a strictly American viewpoint, the danger in these countries is that repressive regimes may invite reactions from revolutionary forces, thereby involving the United States in the kind of civil conflict that turned out to be so tragic in Vietnam. The most pathetic demonstration of this shift has lately occurred in Thailand, where a mildly liberal government striving to combat corruption and inefficiency was brutally overthrown by a clique of military men who had for years been American protégés. A key question now is whether this Thai junta can coexist with China and communist Vietnam.

Apart from reconstructing their devastated country, the Vietnamese communists have been trying to win friends in Southeast Asia, and within recent months they have improved their relations with the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia. This effort was prompted by the recognition in Hanoi that Vietnam, now unified, must reach out to its neighbors for assistance in clearing away the debris of war. Last summer, the Vietnamese deputy foreign minister, Phan Hien, toured the region to discuss concrete trade and technical projects. Among other things, he extracted a pledge from Malaysia to help Vietnam rehabilitate its rubber plantations, and Indonesia promised cooperation in offshore exploration along the Vietnamese coast. Phan Hien also let it be known that Hanoi would like to participate in the Asian Development Bank, and the Vietnamese have voiced an interest as well in attracting Japanese aid.

The United States is now opening talks with the Hanoi government for the first time since the collapse of the Saigon regime in the spring of 1975. The issue is the estimated 800 Americans missing in action in Vietnam—and that will be a political problem. The Vietnamese have refused to provide the United States with a complete list of the missing Americans, presumably because they hope to exchange the information for U.S. reparations. The President cannot plausibly agree to such a bargain, which has all the earmarks of blackmail based on the emotions of American families whose sons and husbands were lost in Vietnam. But he can open discreet negotiations with Hanoi on the subject, and it would be in the U.S. interest to do so. For the Vietnamese, who are walking a tightrope between the Russians and the Chinese, are reported to be eager to establish ties with the United States as a way of gaining diplomatic flexibility, and they should be encouraged to walk in that direction when the time is ripe.

Time, of course, will be a major factor in the President's approach to Asia. In certain situations, such as the struggle inside China, he has no choice but to wait until the air clears. In Japan, on the other hand, he can move more quickly to strengthen the U.S. link. But in contrast to his predecessors, who regarded Asia as an American sphere of influence, the new occupant of the White House will have to acquire the awareness that the United States has only marginal leverage in the Far East. His attitude toward the region, consequently, ought to be rooted in reality and heavily dosed with humility—lest he, like the men who went before him, sink in an Asian quagmire. ◉

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By raising your deductible from $50 to $100, you could save up to 10% on your homeowner's policy.

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Africa in Black and White, and Red

Alarm bells rang when Cuban troops entered Angola, waking the State Department from the sleep of the status quo and alerting it to prospects of mass violence and Russian control of sea routes

Stefan Sonderling/NYT Pictures

by Benjamin Pogrund

UNTIL a year ago, southern Africa was a minor aspect of American foreign policy, with no apparent need for it to be otherwise. Officially, the United States kept a discreet distance from the apartheid practices of South Africa's white-minority government, with repeated formal denunciations of racialism and the oppression of the black majority. America maintained a similar posture with South African–controlled Namibia (Southwest Africa) and with Rhodesia, where the whites had seized the government in 1965. But, effectively, the words meant little in practice. Whatever importance the region had for the United States—and indeed it was considerable—could be seen to be safeguarded in the existence of powerful white rule.

For several decades the basis of Washington's outlook had been the acceptance of the "status quo." This was the phrase used by American diplomats operating in South Africa, who confided that their instructions were "Don't rock the boat." The whites, whatever the injustice of their rule, ensured stability and therefore deserved tacit support. The policy extended also to the southern African colonies of Mozambique and Angola because the nation that controlled them, Portugal, was needed for NATO. Some diplomats railed against their country's policy, identifying with small and scattered groups in America itself who protested on moral grounds against any degree of support for apartheid. But their influence was insignificant, especially so during the decade of Vietnam, when all else became subservient to the country's agonized involvement.

So little attention was paid to southern Africa—it was said at that time to occupy the twenty-seventh position on the State Department's list of priorities—that even the significance of the sudden collapse of Portuguese colonial rule in April, 1974, was not perceived. Only some eighteen months later was the pivotal nature of that event recognized, with its effects in tilting the balance against white rule. The awakening came late last year, when Soviet-backed Cuban troops entered Angola in strength to support the MPLA, the most left wing of the three African nationalist movements vying for power. The exact circumstances of the Cuban entry remain uncertain. Who came first, the Cubans or the South Africans? Whatever the answer, the result was the same: a massive shock to U.S. policy-makers in the State Department, in the Pentagon, and in the CIA.

Suddenly the old certainties were no longer there. Suddenly the stability was threatened. With a Marxist government in Mozambique, on the east coast, and another Marxist government in Angola, on the west coast, white control of the rest of the subcontinent was under siege. Further, international pressures on South Africa to quit Namibia have been mounting. Within South Africa, since June, there has been a string of racial disturbances. Suddenly the importance of southern Africa to America and to the West, obscured for so long, became of pressing concern.

Whatever honeyed words are put on it, the truth of the matter is that the South African government follows a policy of racism founded on discrimination against people of "non-white" color. In contrast, in America the great drive to

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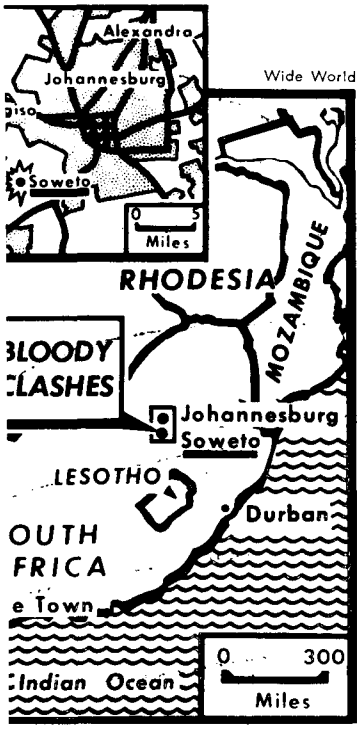
overcome the ravages of racial discrimination occurred during the 1960s. Then it sagged. The consciousness of how much must still be done to overcome the deficiencies suffered by black Americans can be seen these days to be gradually gaining momentum. During this presidential election year it received some impetus because of the publicity given to issues that, by their nature, will now demand ever greater attention in Washington: unemployment, and with it equal opportunity for employment; the plight of the cities; the needs of the poor and the underprivileged. Each problem is a national issue; in each one, blacks stand at the core.

Knowing their own disabilities, America's blacks naturally identify with their brothers in southern Africa suffering from discrimination in its ugliest and most institutionalized form. As this consciousness grows, why should not black Americans seek to influence their government to action in the same way as many Jewish Americans exert pressure in regard to Israel?

As whites become more threatened in southern Africa, white racial sympathy is bound to be aroused in the United States, exerting its own pressures on Washington. Outright bloody racial confrontation in Africa will therefore unleash contrasting and violently opposing forces in America, bringing the issue of race to a new and dangerous height of emotion. Add to this the always potent American unease about the spread of communism, with the stance by southern Africa's whites that they are the West's bulwark against Soviet expansionism, and the witches' brew is complete.

That the anxiety about Russia is well founded must be accepted as a reality. The prize at stake is a tempting one, and foremost is the proximity to the Cape sea route, the passage around the southern tip of the continent along which more than 60 percent of Europe's oil from the Persian Gulf is carried. A threat to the lifeline of its closest Western allies cannot leave America unmoved.

South Africa's Vorster, top, Rhodesia's Smith, and the lands they rule—"confrontation."



Wide World

Gilbert Uzan: Gamma

Marc: Gamma

Some argue that the threat is not a real one, that any future war will be nuclear, and that in any event nuclear-powered submarines, with their extraordinary range, make the need for coastal bases something of the past. That theory suggests there is no cause to worry about Russia having any degree of control over parts of southern Africa. However logical these premises may be, it remains difficult to believe that the West, and the United States, can passively allow Russian penetration in so strategic an area, where not only naval bases are at stake but even the servicing of tankers on their long haul to Europe and back again.

The subcontinent has even greater strategic significance because it is vastly rich in minerals. Apart from gold and diamonds, there is chrome, vanadium, copper, asbestos, coal, uranium, and more, all in abundant quantities. No American President, let alone a Western statesman, dare ignore this.

It is precisely because of this wealth that southern Africa, and especially South Africa, is so vital to the Western economic system. To America, the stakes may not appear considerable, with an estimated $630 million of investment and trade accounting for only 1 percent of U.S. foreign trade. But it is a different story for America's allies and particularly for Britain, whose economic existence is significantly dependent on its profits from its $3-billion investments and its flourishing trade. West Germany, France, Italy, and Japan also have substantial ties and would be seriously affected by disruption of the South African connection.

Set against this new economic jeopardy to America's partners is America's relationship with the black African nations that now form one-third of the membership of the United Nations. Theirs is a voice increasingly to be heard as a coherent force. Not only have they voting strength in international forums, but their developing economies offer opportunities for trade and investment—and none more so than Nigeria, the continent's most populous nation, which has become a major (and non-Arab) producer of oil.

Previously, South Africa dominated the West's trade with Africa. But this has been rapidly changing, and increasingly the West must take care not to imperil its relations with black Africa through its dealings with the white south. It is a complicating factor in Washington's assessment; a southern Africa policy cannot be devised in isolation but has to be set in the context of the continent as a whole.

Even where its own interests are not directly at stake, the interests of America's closest allies cannot be overlooked. The administration has no choice; the involvement is inescapable. Presidential options, however, are available, for once American objectives are resolved, then a direction of the involvement can be charted.

If the policy is to be considered short term, then the strategy must continue to maintain white power where it counts most—within the South African citadel. This means helping to stretch the time available to the South African white government to proceed with its policy of separate development, the division of South Africa into a "white" portion (with 86 percent of the land reserved for the whites, who constitute 20 percent of the population) and nine mini-states for black Africans, each one for a different tribal group.

Never mind that the policy is inherently unjust and is being assailed by blacks, both inside and outside South Africa, as merely racialism in disguise. Never mind either

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that, thus far, the first mini-state created, the Transkei, which became independent on October 26, has been shunned by the world. The important thing is to ensure enough time for the whites to Balkanize the country, in the hope of pre-empting other, more violent action and in the hope that the world will eventually accept the *fait accompli* of the separate black states. If this can be achieved, it will mean the retention of white control where it matters, in the subcontinent's industrial and mining heartlands, and hence continued safety for Western interests, investments, and trade.

If this option is followed, the South African government's own foreign-policy outlook can also be supported with the inestimable merit that it happens to be in the direction of emancipating Rhodesia and Namibia from oppressive white rule (although in regard to Namibia, the South African striving for behind-the-scenes control still remains paramount). In these two areas, therefore, America can support the South African government and still be on the side of the angels. Naturally, formal condemnations of apartheid must continue to be made.

On the other hand, if a longer-term view is adopted, it must be obvious that white domination, whatever its shape and form, cannot long persist. Sheer weight of numbers is on the side of blacks. As events are proving, there is among them a newfound confidence that freedom is imminent. In Rhodesia the guerrilla struggles have increased and spread; in Namibia, too, guerrilla attacks grow apace together with a careful marshaling of international opinion; in South Africa, black belief in the inexorable flow of history is seen in the rippling uprisings against white rule.

Left unchecked, mass violence threatens to engulf each one of these countries, in the process destroying all that the United States wishes to preserve, and with the turmoil opening the gates wide to communist intrusions.

The threat can be met by plumping for a firm policy of bringing pressure to bear on white rule, to ensure peaceful change so that black aspirations can be accommodated. It requires the utmost delicacy because the trick is to seek to bring about necessary change without plunging the subcontinent into racial disruption.

Even while the available means of pressure are applied —chiefly in the economic field—extreme care has to be taken that economic interests are not damaged. It requires subtlety because the pressures must persuade whites that their own interests demand that they change while they can; pushed wrongly, whites could easily retreat even further into their defensive position, snarling at the United States and the world.

While pressure is being applied, America must also persuade black Africans, both within and outside the subcontinent, of the honesty of its intentions. To do that means offering tangible evidence that its policy will produce results.

Washington's past performance does not augur well for the development and application of such a skillful policy, yet these are the directions for the administration if it would avert catastrophe in southern Africa. ◉

The Middle East: On a Back Burner, but Still Simmering

by Henry Owen

THE risks of war in the Middle East have been masked by the struggle in Lebanon. But that conflict is now abating. The Syrians have achieved their objective: a Lebanese government that is under their influence and a weakened Palestinian leadership that they can hope to control.
As the Lebanese war recedes, the Arab-Israeli dispute will again come to the fore.

The Middle East will force itself on the Carter White House for a variety of reasons—not least being that we have a moral commitment to the survival of Israel and that it is one of the few areas where U.S. and Soviet forces might be drawn into conflict with each other.

Former chairman of the Policy Planning Council of the State Department, Henry Owen is director of Foreign Policy Studies at The Brookings Institution.

During the presidential campaign both incumbent and challenger vowed to search for a general Middle Eastern settlement instead of further interim agreements. Such a settlement cannot be imposed from outside if it is to endure, but the administration can play some role—in bringing the parties together to negotiate in some multilateral forum and in helping them to surmount the obstacles that will inevitably arise in prolonged and difficult negotiations.

A GENERAL settlement, if it is achieved, will have to be based on U.N. Resolution 242, which has been accepted by all the parties. The heart of the matter is normalization of Arab relations with Israel: a peace treaty, diplomatic relations, end of the embargo, end of official hostile propaganda, and open frontiers (insofar as any frontiers are open in the Middle East). In return, Israel would give up territories occupied in 1967 with such changes as might be mutually agreed on. The settlement would probably be implemented over a period of years, with the execution of each stage dependent on satisfactory fulfillment of the preceding stage.

At the moment, the positions of the parties are far apart. If negotiations fail, there will likely be another Arab-Israeli war—not soon but sometime in the next five to ten years. Israel would win, but there would be tragic loss of human life, some interruption of oil supplies, and a risk of U.S.-Soviet collision if the Soviet Union felt compelled to intervene on behalf of its losing Arab allies, as it almost did in 1973.

To avert or contain this conflict, the next administration will need to provide Israel with the military aid to deter or defeat attack, and it will also have to maintain a powerful U.S. naval and air presence in the eastern Mediterranean for deterring Soviet intervention.

So the policies that we should follow are not in question: promoting a general settlement, giving aid to Israel, and keeping forces in the Mediterranean. The real question is whether they will work. The uncertainty attending that question tells us why the Middle East will remain near the top of America's foreign-policy agenda for some time to come. ◉

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Conundrum in the Caribbean

Pan-Castroism, new nations steeped in statism, and distrust of American motives have stirred whitecaps on a familiar sea

by Don Bohning

THAT onetime American lake, alias the Caribbean Sea, is awash with colonies becoming countries. And with the birth of each new nation, a new dilemma is born for the Carter administration in Washington. As the new states of the Caribbean emerge so, too, does an awareness within each of its own national identity and a determination not only to be independent but to act independently. The results are manifested in many ways: a United Nations vote, Third World involvement, bilateral relations with larger neighbors, and resistance to political integration—the most obvious answer to the pitfalls of fragmentation. It offers fertile ground for Cuban cultivation and holds potentially profound impact for the structure of such regional groupings as the Organization of American States.

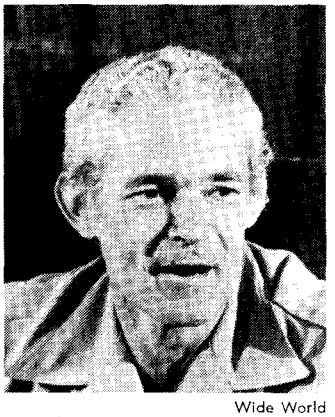
It is a significant development, the magnitude of which is easily illustrated. In the past fifteen years, six British and one Dutch possession in the region have become independent nations: Jamaica (1962), Trinidad-Tobago (1962), Barbados (1966), Guyana (1966), the Bahamas (1973), Grenada (1974), and Surinam (1975). Their combined population is about 5 million. Within the next five years, six more British and one more Dutch outpost in the Caribbean are expected to shed their colonial ties: Dominica, St. Lucia, Antigua, St. Vincent, St. Kitts-Nevis, Belize, and the six-island Netherlands Antilles. Their combined population is about 1 million. It means that in less than twenty years' time, fourteen new nations, with a total population of about 6 million, will have come into being.

From the perspective of the new administration, the wholesale move toward statism is a clear signal that the Caribbean can no longer be treated as a policy backwater, ignored but for the aberration of a Fidel Castro or occasional crises, such as occurred in Panama in 1964 and in the Dominican Republic in 1965, and dealt with on an ad hoc basis. The American lake in which the United States for so long was the final arbiter is no more. Instead the Caribbean is a growing sea of mini-states, each bent on pursuing its separate political course and dependent in varying degrees on someone else economically and militarily. Panama and Cuba remain the major and most clearly defined regional issues awaiting resolution. But a new administration will also be confronted with the strategic problem of how dependent —or independent—the United States can allow the emerging Caribbean nations to become. And what are the options in any event? The decisions are not nearly as much Washington's alone, if at all, as they once might have been. Guyana and Jamaica have clearly demonstrated that.

In the early 1960s, Washington and London conspired to get Marxist Cheddi Jagan out of office in what was then British Guiana; they replaced him with Forbes Burnham before granting independence to the former British territory on the Caribbean coast of South America. Today Guyana, as it is now known, under Forbes Burnham is further along the road to socialism than any country in the hemisphere with the exception of Cuba. Its leaders openly espouse a Marxist-Leninist philosophy and count on the "critical support" of Jagan. In terms of state control, Guyana has gone beyond Chile under the late Marxist President Salvador Allende. Had the same thing happened ten years ago, it is not idle to speculate that American troops might have intervened in much the same fashion as they intervened in the Dominican Republic in 1965. It is not inconceivable that five years ago a Washington-inspired "destabilization" campaign might have been undertaken, as was done in Chile

Wide World

Burnham



Wide World

Manley

UPI

Williams

Pindling

Don Bohning is the Latin America editor of The Miami Herald *and 1974 winner of the Maria Moors Cabot Award.*

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Photographs: Charlotte Ward/Black Star

May Day in Cuba—"From a strategic standpoint, the growing Cuban influence has to be of concern."

under Allende. With it happening today, the best U.S. officials can do is say that how Guyana organizes itself internally is Guyana's business and wonder if they are being believed.

Denials of "destabilization" in Chile, later proved false, have created a credibility gap that Caribbean leaders are using to full advantage. They hint strongly—and in the case of former Prime Minister of Barbados Errol Barrow say openly—that the United States is deliberately attempting to "destabilize" governments of the English-speaking Caribbean because of their developing relationships with Cuba. It is a charge difficult to prove and harder to disprove, although there is no evidence to sustain it and the United States has repeatedly denied it. Still, it provides a handy scapegoat for indigenous problems, as Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley has shown.

Manley pronounced his a government of "democratic socialism" in late 1973 and placed Jamaica firmly in the Third World orbit. Since then he has looked increasingly to Cuba as an example in attempting to cope with such problems endemic to the Caribbean as high unemployment, a young and growing population, and a split-level society with a small and well-to-do elite at the top and impoverished masses at the bottom. Relations between Jamaica and Cuba today are warm, and there are frequent cultural, commercial, and political interchanges at all levels. Manley visited Cuba in July, 1975. There had been talk of a return visit to Jamaica by Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro. That now has been delayed indefinitely because crucial national elections are scheduled soon. The Cubans maintain a large embassy in Kingston. In addition, there are some 250 Cuban doctors and school-construction workers in Jamaica.

The Cuba connection, coupled with a rhetoric far more radical than government action, has contributed substantially to Jamaica's economic stagnation and intense political polarization. A graphic example of the official dichotomy came in October, when the Jamaican government announced it was purchasing a 6 percent interest in Alcoa's bauxite mining and refining operations on the island. The agreement, a reasonable one and acceptable to both parties, should have had a beneficial effect on uneasy would-be investors. Such an effect was partially negated, however, when almost simultaneously Jamaica's External Affairs Minister, Dudley Thompson, was again suggesting to reporters at a press conference in the United States that outside forces were conspiring to destabilize the Manley government by inspiring violence and attempting to bring about economic ruin.

As Jamaica moves closer to Cuba and cements its relationship with the Third World, the questions for the United States are posed in microcosm as they must eventually be dealt with on a broader scale throughout the region. What are the security considerations? What is the future of U.S. private investment? What are the international implications?

FROM a strategic standpoint, the growing Cuban influence in the Caribbean has to be of concern to Washington. Guyana and Jamaica established diplomatic relations with Cuba in December, 1972, along with Barbados and Trinidad-Tobago, which also maintain cordial, if not close, ties with the Castro government. The Bahamas established relations with Cuba two years later. It means that of the twelve hemisphere countries now maintaining relations with Cuba, five are former British Caribbean colonies.

Among the regional heads of government to have visited Cuba within the past two years are Manley, Burnham, and Trinidad's Eric Williams. Another Caribbean leader, Panama's Brigadier General Omar Torrijos, also made the trip, in January, 1976. Castro, in turn, met with the prime ministers of Trinidad, Barbados, Guyana, and Jamaica at a summit meeting in Trinidad in 1973. From there he made an official visit to Guyana, then took Jamaica's Manley and Guyana's Burnham along in his Russian-built jet to the Non-Aligned Nations summit in Algiers.

Cuban troop intervention in Angola helped bind the relationship between Castro and black Caribbean leaders. The concern of black leaders in the Caribbean, as Bahamian Prime Minister Lynden Pindling noted, was not so much with Cuban intervention as with what had been the failure of Western democracies to come out unequivocally in support of black majority rule in Africa.

For Cuba, the courtship of the English-speaking Caribbean has brought great dividends in breaking out of the hemisphere's diplomatic and commercial isolation imposed on the island since the early 1960s. Castro expressed his appreciation with some revealing comments during Burnham's visit

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to Cuba in April, 1975. "We must bear in mind the position of the Caribbean English-speaking countries," Castro told his Cuban audience, saying:

> This group of countries, Caribbean like ours, geographically small like ours, acquired its independence a short time ago. For centuries they lived under British colonialism. These are countries with very recent independence. But obviously the English-speaking countries did not acquire the bad habit of Latin American governments which historically had a terrible fear of Yankee imperialism. To establish diplomatic relations with Cuba was a challenge to imperialism . . . at the same time, those governments strongly condemned the policy of blockade against Cuba. And on these bases relations between Cuba and that group of countries are developing.

Testifying before a congressional committee earlier this year, William Luers, deputy assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, offered his observations on the attraction of Cuba for others in the Caribbean. "Themselves confronted by massive problems of modernization of their societies," said Luers, leaders of the English-speaking countries "are impressed by the clean streets, law and order and egalitarianism of Cuba. Their own social and economic problems are crushing. Their urban unemployment and population growth are critical. They find economic dependency on tourism and certain agricultural crops a reality but also a residue of the colonial past. Perhaps even more than other developing nations they, because of their relatively high literacy and intense contact with the developed world, see a formula for rapid modernization."

Although Luers didn't say it, some Caribbean leaders believe they have found that formula, adapted with variations to their own societies, in Cuba. If so, Luers suggested it might have been partly a result of default by the United States. "The United States," he said, "has not been of great assistance. We have taken many of their citizens as immigrants, we have invested in their industrial, tourist and agricultural enterprises and we have spent lavishly in visiting the lovely islands. But as a government we have not, aside from a few small AID programs and our support for the Caribbean Development Bank, devised special economic programs

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to support the modernization aspirations of these very special neighbors of the Caribbean."

As new Caribbean countries emerge, the field for Cuban influence expands and the international implications become more apparent. The impact on the Organization of American States, for example, could be profound if the one-nation, one-vote principle were to be followed. Already there have been private indications from both the Latin American nations and the non-Latin nations of the Caribbean of strains between the two groups. It is doubtful if the present Latin majority would permit a fourteen-nation bloc of non-Latin Caribbean states, some having fewer than 100,000 people, to develop within the OAS, which could be the case in another five years. The alternative is for the OAS to devise a means of restructuring itself to accommodate the new situation if it is to continue as a truly hemispheric organization.

The impact also will be felt, in other ways, on a host of organizations ranging from the Inter-American Development Bank to a variety of regional U.N. agencies. And inevitably, given the present trend, the countries of the Caribbean will become part of the new Third World majority and not an automatic vote on the side of the United States.

THE options available to the new administration for dealing with the complexities of the changing situation in the Caribbean are clear. The days of "gunboat diplomacy" are past. This leaves as the alternatives a do-nothing-and-hope-for-the-best approach or a dedicated effort to adapt to the new reality and attempt to exert a positive influence.

It will require new initiatives coupled with a special determination to resolve old problems. Some things can be achieved by executive action. Others will depend on congressional cooperation.

New economic programs must emphasize regional integration; agricultural diversification; local processing of raw materials and agricultural products; improved access to U.S. markets for exports; further development of tourism; and realistic population and immigration policies. The ultimate goals must be to overcome the astronomical unemployment, especially among the young, and the great income disparity so characteristic of the Caribbean today. The resolution of these problems is central to achieving and maintaining stability.

Essential to any serious undertaking by the incoming administration to develop a coherent policy toward the region is its need to upgrade the quality of personnel assigned to represent U.S. interests there. Too often in the past, American envoys posted to Caribbean nations have been ambassadors appointed in return for political favors. Lesser posts have gone to foreign-service officers approaching retirement but possessed of neither the knowledge nor the expertise their jobs require. The stories of diplomatic ineptitude, particularly among politically appointed ambassadors in the English-speaking Caribbean, are legend. The area's importance to the United States must be reflected in the caliber of people a new administration in Washington sends there.

A determined effort must be made to resolve the problems of Panama and Cuba. It not only would remove two long-standing bilateral issues but would work positively toward improving relations with the rest of the Caribbean. The emerging English-speaking nations in particular tend to identify more with Cuba as a Third World developing country than to view it as a communist client of the Soviet Union. They consider the U.S. position toward Cuba a cold-war anachronism.

As the Carter administration takes office in January, prospects are dim for normalization of relations between the United States and Cuba. Events of the last sixteen months, combining domestic U.S. politics and Cuban-exile terrorism on the one side, with Cuban intervention in Angola, encouragement of the Puerto Rican independence movement (only 6 percent of all Puerto Ricans supported independenist parties in the November elections; 90 percent voted for permanent union with the United States), and active support for the United Nations' anti-Zionist resolution on the other, have raised the level of mutual hostility between Washington and Havana to that of a decade ago.

One step the new administration could and should take is the easing of the U.S. trade embargo against Cuba by permitting the direct sale of food and medicine. At best, such an action could end the impasse brought on by Castro's refusal to talk unless the trade embargo is lifted and the U.S. demand that there be no preconditions to any discussion. At the least, it would provide evidence to the rest of the Caribbean of Washington's willingness to try to resolve the Cuba question and would partially remove what has become Castro's excuse for Cuba's internal difficulties.

Top priority should be given by the new administration to the resolution of the Panama Canal question. The most immediate task will be that of regaining the momentum of the negotiations for a new treaty and maintaining their continuity. Prompt assurances should be made that the United States is still committed to a new canal treaty based on the set of principles enunciated by U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and former Panamanian Foreign Minister Juan Tack on February 7, 1974. The successful culmination of current negotiations for a new treaty would not only remove an eternal irritant in bilateral relations between Washington and Panama but also eliminate what has increasingly become a cause for the rest of the hemisphere, including the Caribbean.

IN A more abstract sense, the new administration must recognize that what suits Washington does not always suit everyone else in the Caribbean. There must be a willingness to tolerate an honest difference of opinion, whether it be over a vote at the United Nations or the choice of a political system. Bahamian External Affairs Minister Paul Adderley said it well when he noted that friendship does not necessarily imply a mutuality of interest among the nations. Above all, it is time for the United States to begin acting positively instead of reacting negatively in dealing with the Caribbean.

That erudite and acerbic historian and Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, Dr. Eric Williams, has described the Caribbean as "an area characterized by instability; political and economic fragmentation; constitutional diversity; economic, psychological, cultural, and in some cases political dependence; large-scale unemployment and underemployment; economic uncertainty; unresolved racial tensions; potential religious conflicts; the restlessness of youth; and an all-pervading fear of the United States."

If, indeed, there is fear of the United States in the Caribbean, a new administration must be vitally concerned with the turn of Caribbean events. ◉

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The Economy: Manic-Depressive or Excessive-Recessive?

After double-digit inflation and double-dip depression, the nation wonders if pocketbook pellagra is an incurable disease

by Alfred L. Malabre Jr.

YEARS ago, there were periods of recession, and there were periods of inflation, but never periods of inflation and recession together. There were recessions, but no inflation. There was inflation, but no recessions. Years ago, unemployment would fall when overall business activity rose. But nowadays, we have painfully discovered that the economy expands while unemployment remains stuck up there at recessionary levels.

It adds up to a particularly nasty sort of conundrum for the man who must try to direct America's economic course from the White House over the next four years. The assorted economic difficulties that the country's planners, from the President on down, must deal with now have already left a clear mark on public attitudes. In a short four years the American people have undergone a series of economic horrors:

- Double-digit rates of inflation that, if allowed to continue through the next four years, would cut the dollar's value approximately in half.
- An energy crisis at the gasoline pump and in the factory.
- Soaring fuel prices in the home.
- The longest—and in many respects the harshest—business slump suffered since the Great Depression.
- And now an economic recovery whose outstanding feature is an unemployment rate of close to 8 percent of the labor force, higher than at the pit of earlier postwar recessions.

Is it any wonder that many Americans are uneasy as they attempt to glimpse the economy's prospects after the elections? Or that surveys of consumers' "confidence" continue to turn up an underlying pessimism, a lingering hesitancy to "go out and buy" because things are getting easier? For a huge slice of the American population, things have not been getting easier. One especially bleak development: the buying power of weekly paychecks, after allowing for inflation and federal taxes, has actually declined slightly, on the average, since early 1974, when the long 1973–75 recession was still deepening. How, one well may ask, will 200 million Americans manage to pay their bills during the next four years? If the current business expansion does not gain strength and keep rolling far beyond 1977, the unhappy answer, we suspect, is that many Americans will not manage to pay all their bills.

Unfortunately, there seems to be no surefire formula that the President, or the men and women in the Congress, or the people who manage monetary affairs at the Federal Reserve Board can readily apply. Four more years of economic expansion, to be sure, is possible. But it would require exceptional wisdom in Washington and among business people in general.

After the economic pain of recent years, a good deal of confusion and uncertainty now pervades planners' councils. Some economists still believe that a prudent monetary policy, of steady, moderate growth in the country's money supply month after month, holds the key to better economic times. But these "monetarists" appear less certain of themselves than they were, say, a dozen years ago, before all the recent troubles.

Other economists still believe that so-called fiscal mea-

Lining up for jobs in Chicago—"longest, harshest slump since the Great Depression."

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Alfred L. Malabre Jr. is a news editor of The Wall Street Journal. *His new book,* Understanding the Economy: For People Who Can't Stand Economics, *was recently published by Dodd, Mead & Company.*

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sures, chiefly increased federal spending, are likely to spur the economy and, in the process, help to erase unemployment. But these economists, too, seem unsure; sharply rising federal spending during much of Lyndon Johnson's White House tenure, for instance, hardly left the American economy in brimming good health. Johnson's final year was a year of recession.

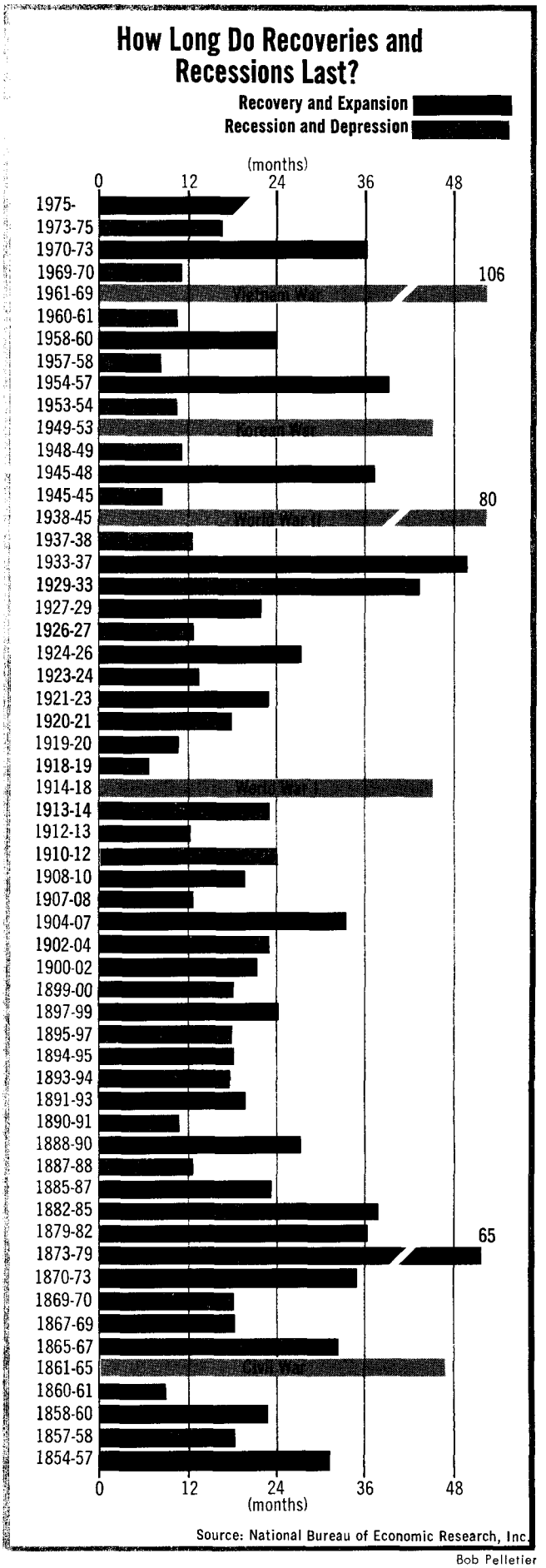
What are the chances, amid the uncertainty of experts as well as the widespread public pessimism, that the American economy can continue to move, recession-free, along an expansionary path during the next four years?

No one can say for sure, of course. Economic history teaches that a recession is likely, simply by the law of averages, within the next four years. If one is to be avoided—and that will not be easy, but it is certainly possible—the President and others in authority must try to sidestep policies that would overstrain the economy's resources of labor and material. If the economy becomes overstrained, with crippling labor and material shortages and production bottlenecks, this would surely lead to a rekindling of double-digit inflation and ultimately to still another recession. Indeed, we submit that the paramount economic lesson of the past several dreary years is that accelerating inflation leads eventually to slumping business activity and sharply climbing unemployment.

The President, assuredly, is not all-powerful in matters economic. But he most certainly can try in the new term to pursue and encourage economic policies that will prove stimulative enough to keep business activity expanding at a steady clip, but not so swiftly that economic resources become overstrained. This means taking care to tailor spending closely enough to federal revenues to keep the federal budget, now heavily in deficit but moving toward a balance, from causing new inflationary pressures. It means encouraging a monetary policy at the Federal Reserve Board that would be expansionary, but not excessively so; we have already painfully learned that a too-easy monetary policy may initially reduce interest rates but then brings higher rates. And it means an intensified effort to find ways of erasing structural imbalances within the ever-changing economy. The effort might include new ways of training unemployed workers to handle jobs demanding special skills and new ways of providing incentives that would spur greater productivity in, say, especially boring occupations.

It is encouraging, ironically, that a new skepticism now clearly pervades the attitudes of prominent economists. Some respected forecasters—A. Gary Schilling, of White, Weld & Company, a New York–based securities concern, for one—believe that a new recession may not set in at all during the next four years. But many other economists foresee another slump perhaps by the end of 1978. Few forecasters will venture the opinion that the American people can look forward to a full presidential term of recession-free economic expansion. None argues—as some, to their embarrassment, did in the blissful early 1960s—that American economic wisdom has advanced in our 200 years to a point where business activity can be expected to expand smoothly year after year after year, on through a slumpless future.

Today's new skepticism, on the part of experts and laymen alike, may provide the key to a recession-free four years. If business executives, government planners, from the



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"It was double-digit inflation that led to severe imbalances in the early 1970s and to the 1973–75 recession."

President down, and consumers generally can remain mindful during the next four years that recessions, like death and taxes, eventually must come, it is possible that Shilling's prediction may prove closer to the mark than those of other forecasters who imagine the country back in a recession again within, at the most, a couple of years.

Today's skepticism can be underscored by contrasting it to attitudes prevailing less than a decade ago, when a front-page column in *The Wall Street Journal* could begin: "Once upon a time, there was something called a recession. . . ." The early-to-mid-1960s, whatever else it may have been, was a time of perennial economic expansion and optimism. Year after year, the gross national product climbed, jobs proliferated, unemployment dwindled.

We have been reminded rudely in the intervening years that the business cycle—with its periods of recession, as well as its periods of expansion—lives on. The big upturn of the 1960s finally ended in late 1969, when a recession set in that lasted for a full year. Since then, of course, the ups and downs have kept coming at us. The 1973–75 recession halted the next up phase of the business cycle after thirty-six months. The current upturn has endured now for about a year and a half. If it were to continue through the next presidential term, it would be some seventy months old.

The economic history book shows in unmistakable language that economic-expansion periods rarely last seventy months. Indeed, there are only two exceptions, going all the way back to 1854, when the record-keeping began: the 106-month-long upturn of the 1960s and the eighty-month World War II expansion.

The record-keeping is performed in detail by analysts at the New York–based National Bureau of Economic Research, a non-profit organization. The National Bureau's business-cycle research shows that there have been twenty-eight expansions and an equal number of recessions in the country during the past 122 years. The current recovery, which National Bureau economists date from the spring of last year, marks the start of the twenty-ninth business-cycle up phase.

The average length of the previous twenty-eight expansion periods works out to thirty-three months. The recent thirty-six-month expansion of 1970–73 was therefore slightly longer than average. The average length of expansions occurring in peacetime works out to twenty-six months, barely more than two years.

If the current expansion were to continue for seventy months, through the next four-year presidential term, it would be more than twice as long as the average and nearly triple the average in time of peace. Only six of the previous twenty-eight expansions lasted forty months, let alone seventy. And five of those occurred in wartime.

The lone exception: a fifty-month cyclical "recovery" from the bottom of the first awesome down phase of the Great Depression. The period hardly qualifies as a business-recovery phase other than under the National Bureau's highly technical ground rules. It was an economic upturn that makes most recessions look positively boomy.

There is reason to hope that the current upturn will exceed twenty-six months and, possibly, exceed thirty-three months. By how much, of course, will depend to a major degree on the wisdom of the President, the Congress, and the Federal Reserve Board. But the basis for a longer-than-average expansion period, it seems clear, has already been established—precisely because for many of its eighteen months it has been a lackluster, sluggish affair. It is this very sluggishness—as seen, among other places, in exceptionally high joblessness—that should foster longevity.

Unemployment is only the most obvious and publicized manifestation of this sluggishness. Others include a prevailing caution in capital-spending programs, a widespread hesitancy of corporations to borrow, and a tendency of many consumers, remarkable in a time of economic recovery, to save rather than spend.

A specific: Americans, on the average, are stashing away close to 7 percent of their after-tax earnings, a far larger portion than is normal during the second year of a business upturn. In the second year of the 1970–73 expansion, this saving rate was 6.2 percent. During the long expansion of the 1960s, the rate dipped under the 6 percent mark.

Such extraordinary developments, though they contribute to the current business sluggishness, also indicate that a considerable potential remains within today's economy for further, sustainable growth in the months ahead.

Because the saving rate is high, because corporations have been cautious about spending, because a huge pool of unused labor exists a full year and a half after the last recession, the economy generally remains unstrained. Slack persists. And, as a result, there is room for further expansion without any high risk of intensifying inflationary pressures. It was, in the consensus view, double-digit inflation that primarily led to severe economic imbalances in the early 1970s and, ultimately, to the 1973–75 recession.

Kathryn Eickhoff, a New York economic consultant, voices a widely shared opinion: "The recession has caused us all to realize that very fundamental imbalances exist in the economy." For businessmen, for example, "inflation no longer equates with opportunity, but recession," she observes, stressing also consumers' newfound "sensitivity to inflation."

But such a view does not lead this consultant to economic pessimism. Rather, precisely because moderation has become so prevalent, she predicts that the economy will "perform well over the next eighteen months," regardless of the recent election result.

Many forecasters stress that much will depend on attitudes in the Congress, as well as in the White House or at the Federal Reserve. Thus Gary Shilling warns: "Congressional concern about unemployment could translate into overly stimulative fiscal measures in the next federal budget, and that could lead eventually to a renewed double-digit price spiral."

This forecaster, however, whose track record over the past decade has proved better than most, emphasizes that congressional attitudes cannot influence the economic course in any important fashion during the next eighteen months or so. "The die has been cast already for the next year," he says,

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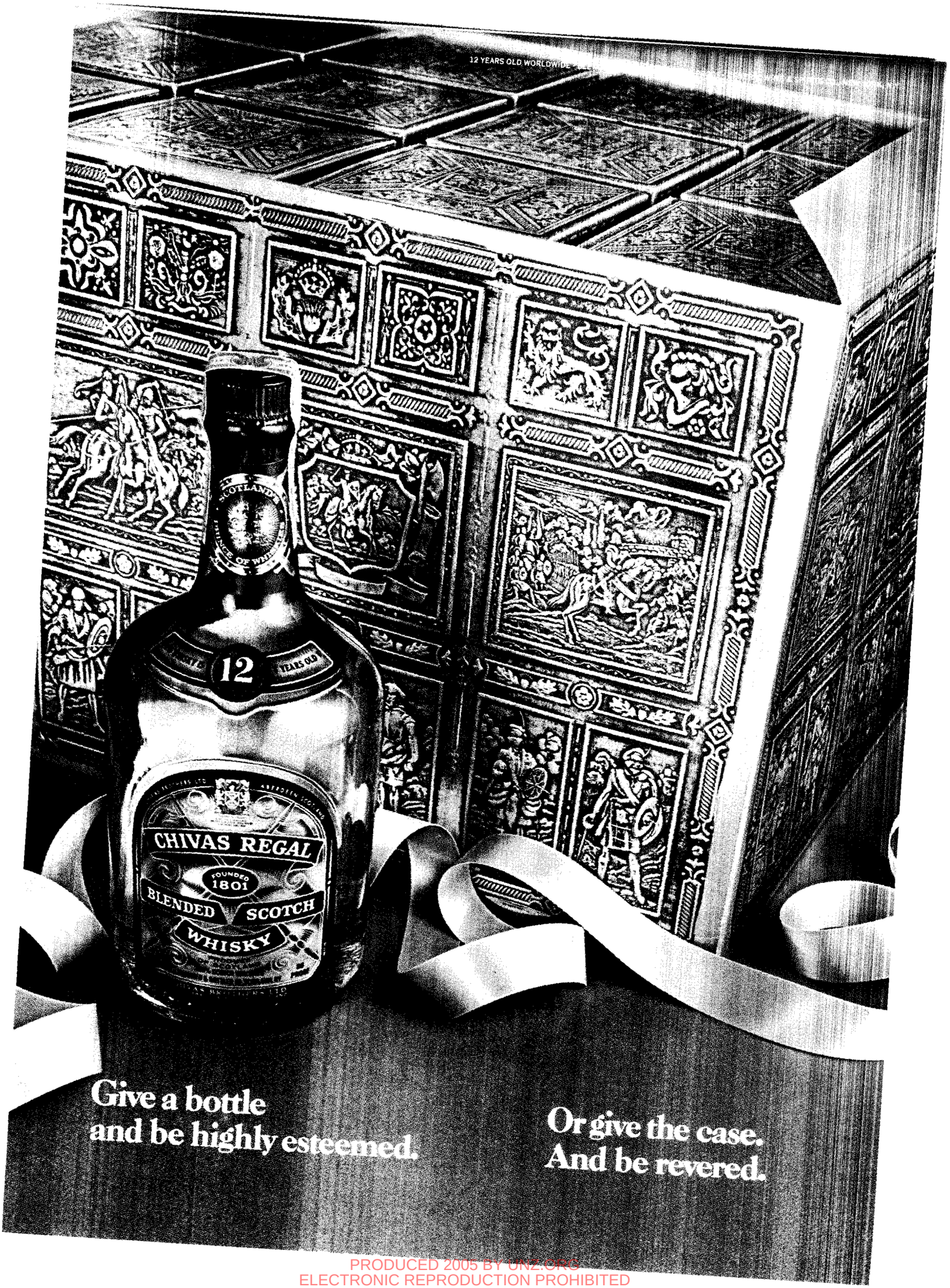

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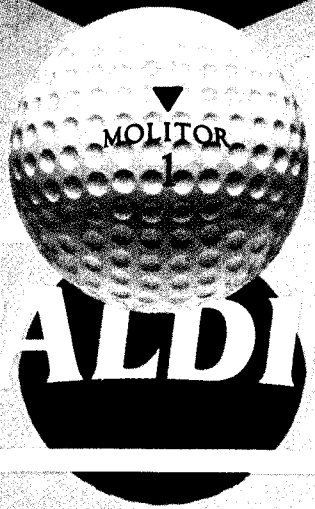

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"and probably for most of 1978 as well. What the new Congress decides to do, say, with the fiscal budget won't really be felt until later."

His forecast for the year ahead envisages a continuing, steady rise in overall economic activity, at a rate of slightly under 5 percent, along with a welcome easing of inflation. Unemployment, he says, will slowly decline but remain above 6 percent. By late next year, he estimates, consumer prices, on the average, will be rising at an annual rate of only 3.2 percent, or less than half the rise projected for 1976 as a whole. In 1974 consumer prices rose 12.2 percent and in 1973 the rise was 8.8 percent. Last year, the climb eased to 7 percent as the recession dampened inflationary pressures, as well as general business activity such as industrial production and employment.

Economic growth of nearly 5 percent may appear disappointingly weak. But it would represent an actual improvement over the rate of economic expansion projected for the closing quarter of 1976. And, taking a much longer view, it would appreciably exceed the average rate—of slightly less than 4 percent—at which the U.S. economy has actually expanded, through all the cyclical ups and downs, during this century.

The growth that Shilling foresees in 1977 also exceeds the 3.75 percent "potential" rate at which, government analysts estimate, the U.S. economy, given its labor and material resources, can comfortably expand decade after decade.

In the past, as up phases of the business cycle have progressed, unemployment invariably has dwindled, and by no coincidence, the likelihood of bankruptcies, corporate as well as personal, invariably has diminished. Avoiding another recession may well prove the overriding presidential task of the next four years. The odds against success, we have seen, are great. But they are not insurmountable if the President and other economic planners retain a healthy degree of skepticism about the economy's capabilities and keep in mind that overstimulation would surely —once again—lead to accelerating inflation and a recession.

Will the leadership be sufficiently wise to surmount the odds? Only, we suspect, if it can constantly be remembered that the American economic machine, though vast and powerful, cannot be pushed too hard. What von Bismarck said about politics can be applied as well to wise economic planning: it is the doctrine of the possible, the attainable. ◉

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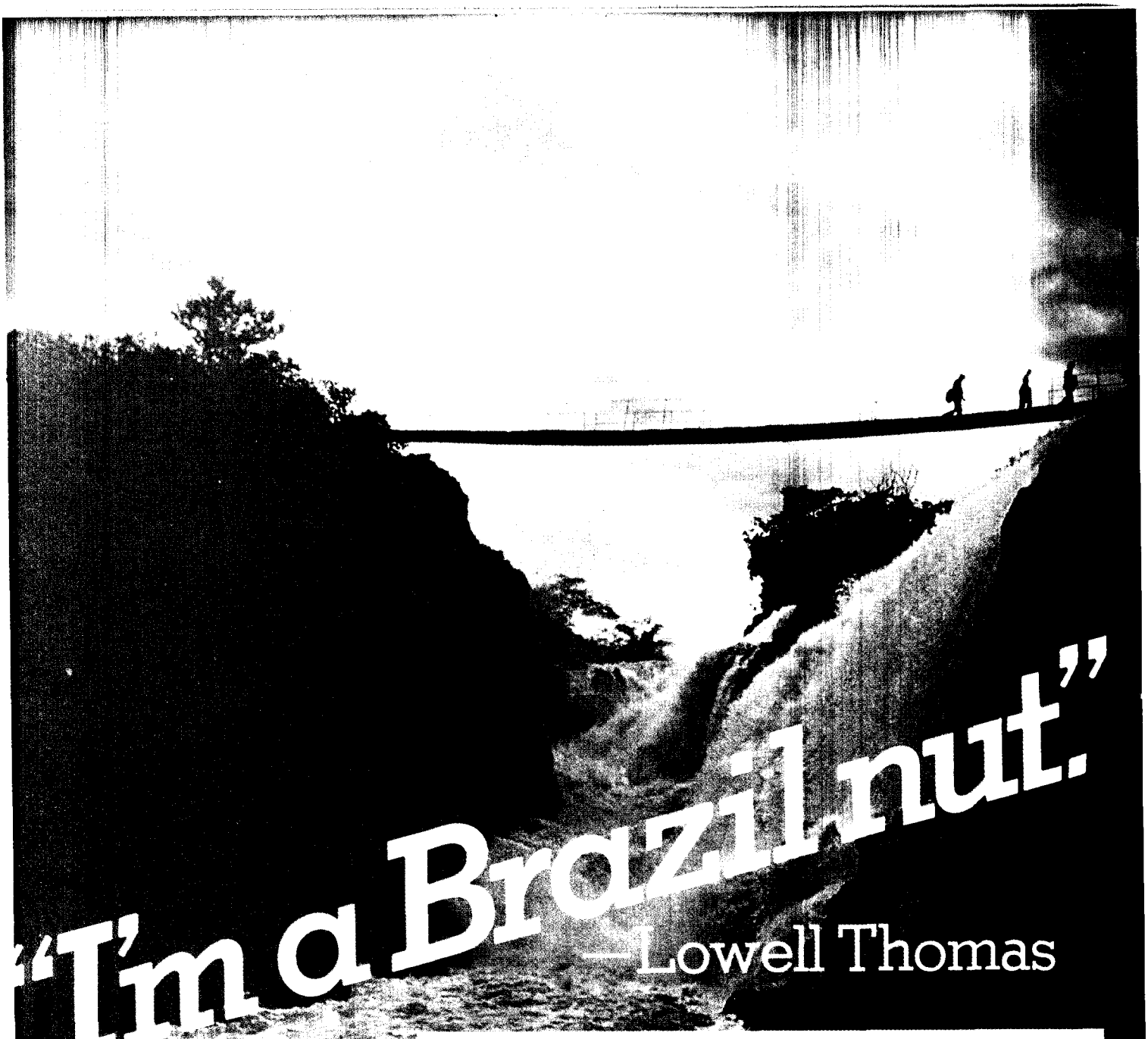

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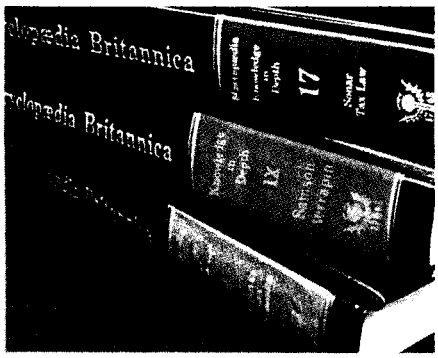

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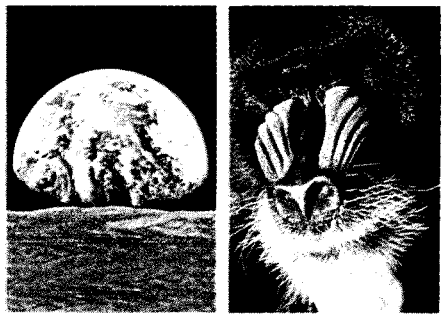
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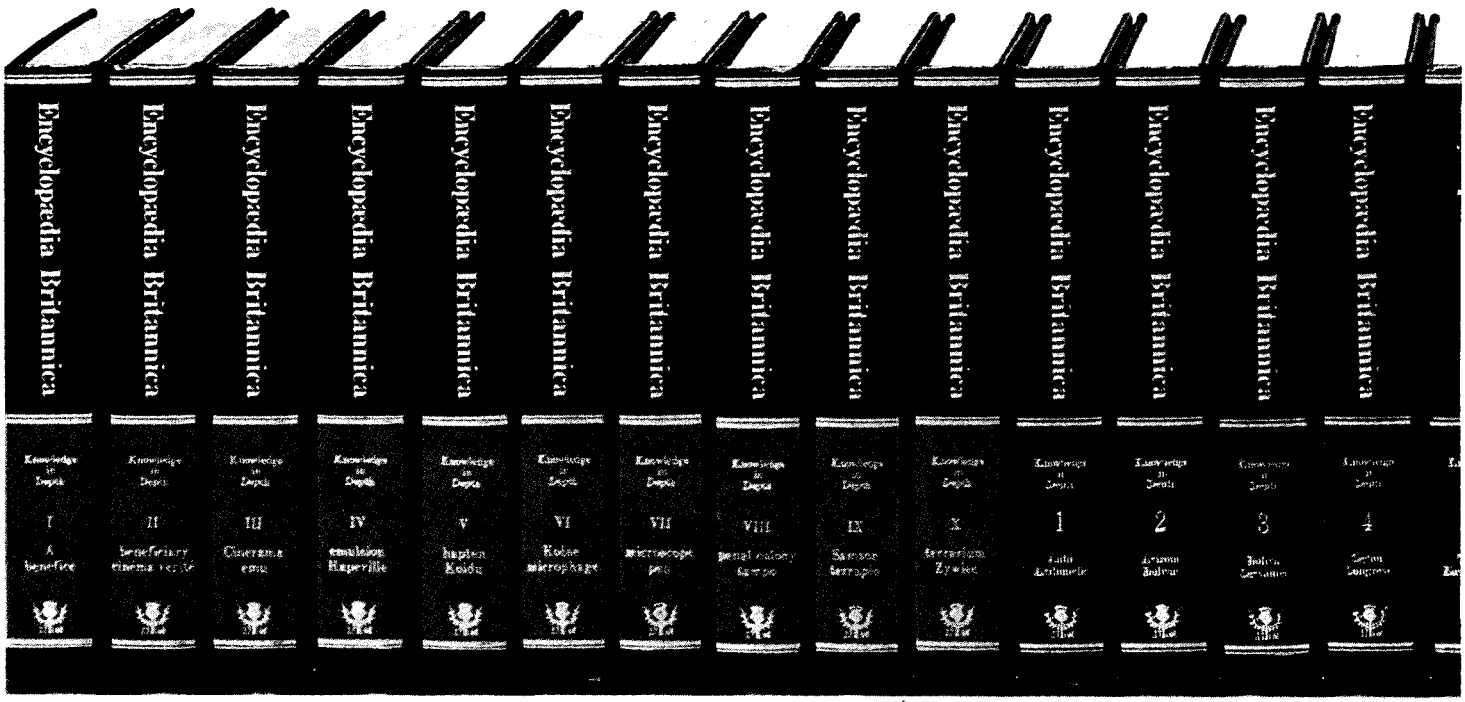

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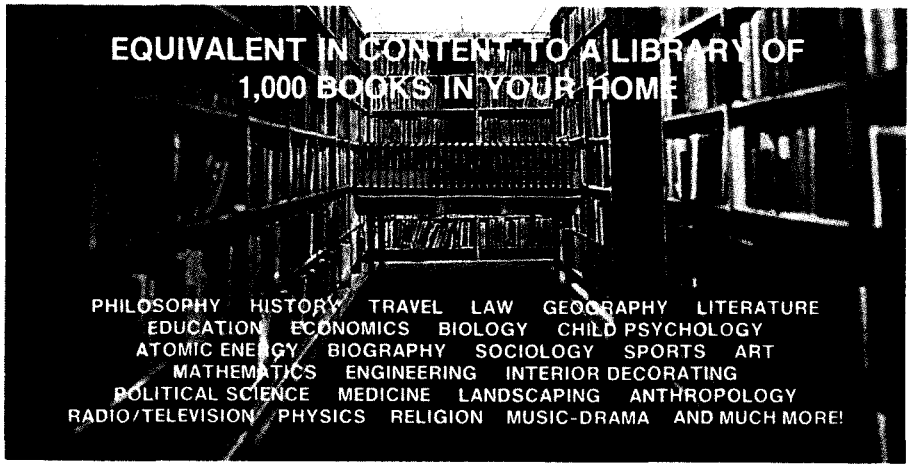
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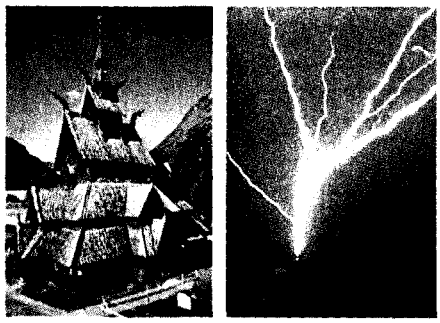

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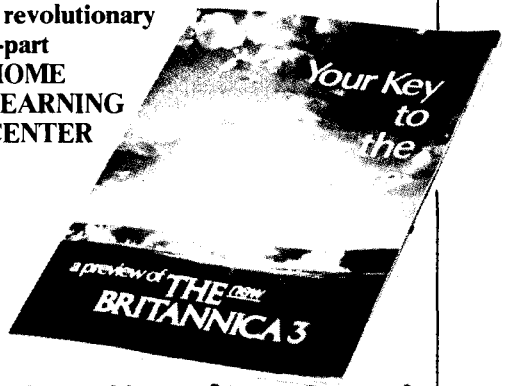

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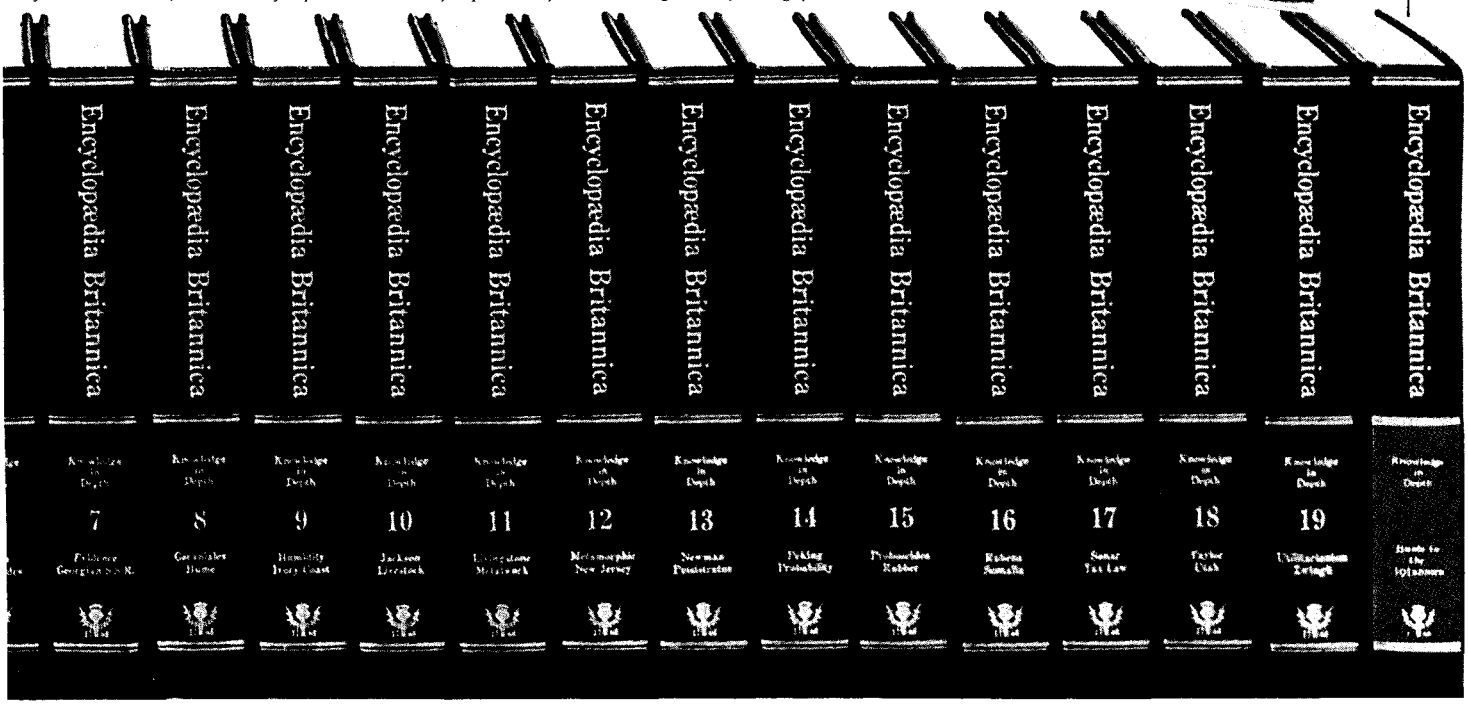

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Toward a Swedenized America

by Amitai Etzioni

WILL the new President seek to turn the nation into a Swedenized America, or will he be content to backpaddle toward some lesser form of welfare state? The key words to the answer are "ambivalence" and "transition." There is no wide consensus as to where America ought to be going or how much we can and should do in the way of providing social benefits, nor even as to what we mean when we ask how much of a Sweden we want. "Sweden"—not the country, but a vision of a future America—provides the President and his staff with a convenient handle for dealing with the problems and choices America faces precisely because the word evokes a variety of images.

To many Americans, Sweden is the prototype of the welfare state. America, as its capitalism has matured, has acquired ever more features of a welfare state, from Social Security to Medicaid. In asking how much more of the welfare state we can afford and should seek to become, however, the President must not disregard the difference between efforts aimed at using the "welfare state" to redistribute income to help the disadvantaged and efforts aimed at providing all citizens—of all social classes—with a wide array of social services, from day-care centers to funerals. The main purpose of the first approach is to reduce inequality, to advance social justice, and—ultimately—to promote a society that knows no inherent (as distinct from earned) differences of wealth, status, or power. The main purpose of the second approach is to exempt more and more of the citizenry's human needs from the exigencies of the economic marketplace and to secure their provision via the public sector.

Although in the abstract the "social justice" vision of the welfare state and that of the "human-services society" tend to converge, in the imperfect practice, they conflict sharply. Thus, many of the new programs launched during the Kennedy and Johnson years were specifically aimed at using tax revenues collected disproportionately from those better off to pay for programs for those less well off. In contrast, since then the prevailing trend has been to shift drastically away from income-transfer programs toward more services for all. Widely accepted—indeed, in high demand—are those programs that actually or potentially pay off to all, such as investment in transportation, national parks, schools, services for the old and for children (of all classes), and, above all, national health services. Downgraded, cut, dismantled, are Head Start (an educational program for children of a disadvantaged background), the Office of Equal Opportunity (the federal antipoverty agency), wel-

Amitai Etzioni is professor of sociology at Columbia University and director of the Center for Policy Research.

Welfare in America: The View from Sweden

by Gunnar Myrdal

TOWARD the end of the Great Depression, and despite prevailing destitution among many of its people, the spirit of America was one of trust in the future of the nation and the improvability of its institutions. Franklin Roosevelt had managed to get America to believe that the only thing it needed to fear was fear itself.

And Roosevelt stressed the need of economic reform as a moral issue. "I see one-third of the nation ill housed, ill clad, ill nourished," he said in his second inaugural address, in which he urged "moral controls . . . over blind economic forces and blindly selfish men." He talked about "social justice" and saw a "change in the moral climate of America." He stressed that "the test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much, it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

By pronouncing "freedom from want" as part of "liberty," he had, in fact, reinterpreted the national purpose so as to include among their rights a decent standard of living and a measure of security for all Americans. Although this programmatic commitment went far ahead of political accomplishment, then even more than now, the United States had been established as moving toward a welfare state.

Roosevelt undoubtedly retained the majority of American citizens behind him in this reinterpretation of the national purpose and in the various welfare measures undertaken under the New Deal. But equally undoubtedly the change was established less by the force of pressure from below than, as often in America, by courageous leadership from above that then got public support. The same was the case when President Lyndon Johnson declared, and for a time won general support for, the "unconditional war against poverty."

One of Roosevelt's most consequential policy initiations was the Social Security Act of 1935. Of crucial importance to the further development of income-maintenance policies in the United States was his unfortunate decision to follow the line of thinking of Bismarck and Lloyd George, who had conceived this social problem as *eine Arbeiterfrage*, concerning only those employed in the labor market and not endeavoring to cover the nation as a whole.

Since its inception, the Social Security system in the United States has been given an ever wider coverage

The Nobel laureate in economics in 1974, Gunnar Myrdal is the author of thirty books. He published An American Dilemma *in 1944 and is at work on* An American Dilemma Revisited. *He lives in Stockholm.*

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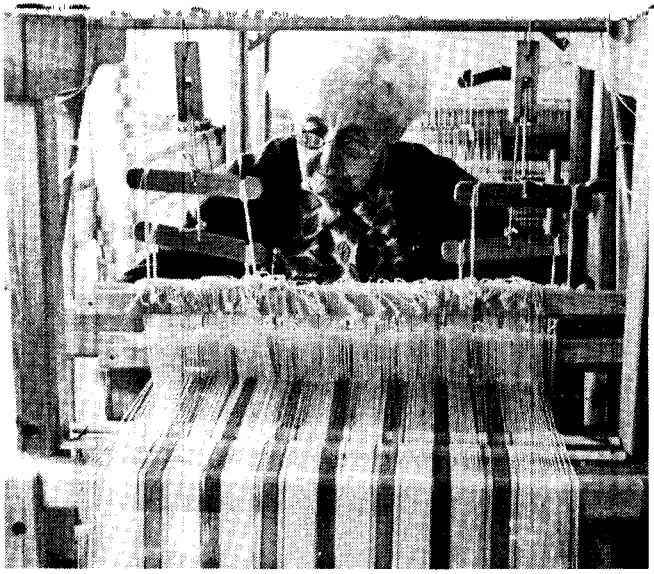

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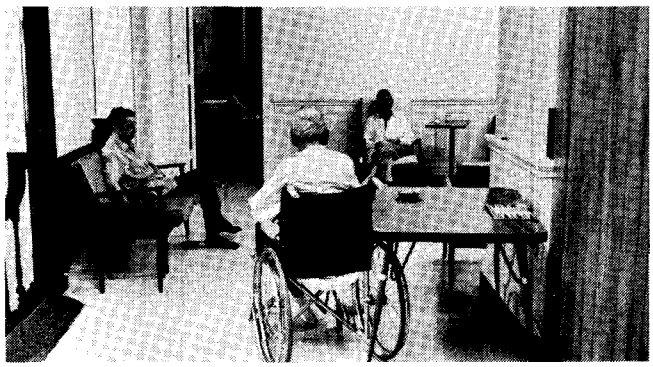
Weaving in a home for the aged near Stockholm, above, and a nursing home in the U.S.—"how much of a Sweden do we really want?"

Wide World



fare, low-income public housing, Model Cities (aimed mainly at ghettos and "inner cities"), and Medicaid (health care for the poor and near poor).

Technically, the transition was achieved largely through revenue sharing; funds were shifted from federal programs to state and local governments, which in turn have used the moneys chiefly for services that benefit the whole community rather than focus on the poor. The former Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Dr. Robert C. Wood, estimated that as $6 billion a year were made available to local government under revenue sharing, $16.9 billion were cut out of federal social-action programs. Local government used 23 percent of these funds for public safety, 21 percent for education, 15 percent for transportation, 10 percent for construction and maintenance of public buildings, 7 percent for health, 5 percent for recreation—and 4 percent for social services for the aged and poor.

The President will surely realize that in the near future the tug of war between the two views of the welfare state must be expected to continue. Though human services are much more popular than income transfer, *both* have their public and political followings. Thus, polls show that the majority of Americans want government to provide *more* help to the poor *and* national health services for all Americans. (In 1976, 61 percent favored a comprehensive national-health bill; 53 percent, that more public funds be given to the poor.) It will be up to the President, in formulating his first budget and message to the nation, to indicate in what direction he seeks to throw his weight.

"Swedenization" also connotes a policy decision the President can scarcely avoid: whether to increase or to curtail the reliance on the government to provide human services

Continued on page 53

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until it now extends over perhaps 90 percent of the "labor force." Protection for certain risks other than old age and unemployment has also been more or less adequately provided for by additions to the system. But the bulk of the tremendous sums being transferred is transmitted through a compulsory insurance system, based on a private insurance model, kept outside the state and federal budgets, and paid for by regressive payroll charges.

The main deficiency of this system, from the point of view of social-policy goals, is, however, that it covers only those workers who have a decent and reasonably steady job. The major aid schemes within the system exclude the whole underclass of the more permanently unemployed and the "subemployed"—indeed, all those not in the mainstream of economic life.

Since Roosevelt there have been further social reforms in America, but from the beginning they showed a tendency to stop above the reach of the poorest and the most needy. Even with the gradual increase over the years in the numbers of those who benefit, the reforms, for the most part, fail to reach down to the underclass.

BEHIND this continuing bias in social reforms lies a deeper ideological difference. In the advanced welfare states the theory has been, at least since the 1930s, that well-planned social reforms are a profitable investment, for they improve the quality of life and thus the productivity of people and also preclude future public and private expenditures. Social reforms are therefore an investment, though usually with a long maturation period.

This theory is almost missing in the United States. Here social reforms are mostly looked on simply as public expenditures, which might be justified on grounds of justice. The lack of sufficient consideration of their possible role as public investments is more understandable in the United States because of the wretched situation of the underclass in the slums, caused partly by the extraordinarily high levels of unemployment and subemployment but also, of course, by the practice of having many social reforms stop above the reach of these people.

Every country—even the most advanced welfare state, providing a much more complete social-security system; medical services for all people free of charge; free schools from nursery school to university, as well as many other equalizing welfare undertakings, among them protection of elderly workers and all sorts of services and equipment for handicapped persons, including protected and subsidized industrial establishments—must be able to provide additional public assistance to individuals and families who for various extraordinary reasons have come into economic difficulty. But with the incompleteness of the

Continued on page 53

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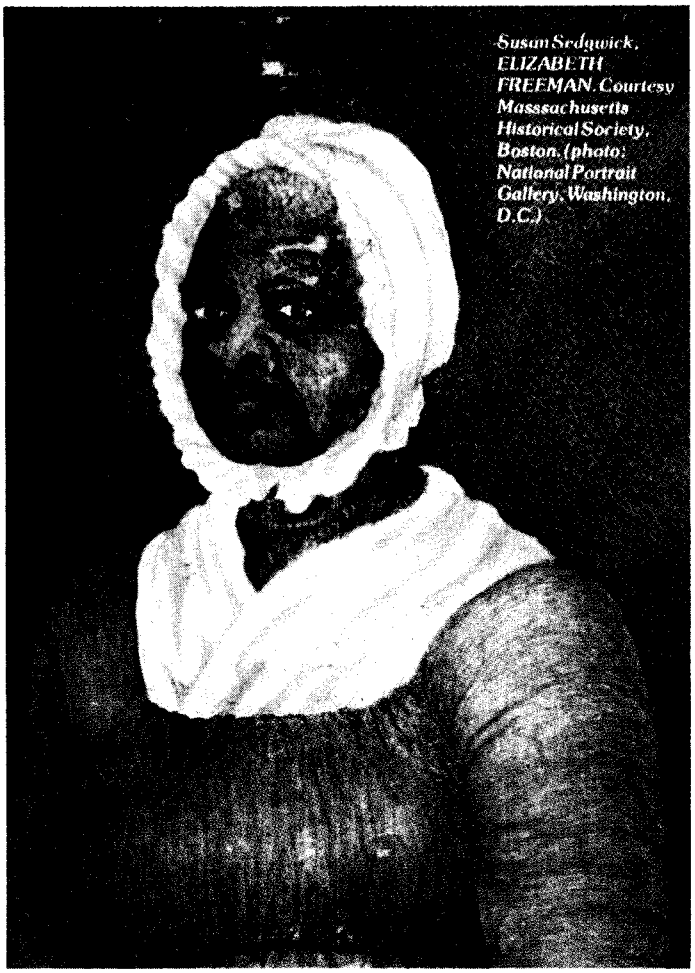
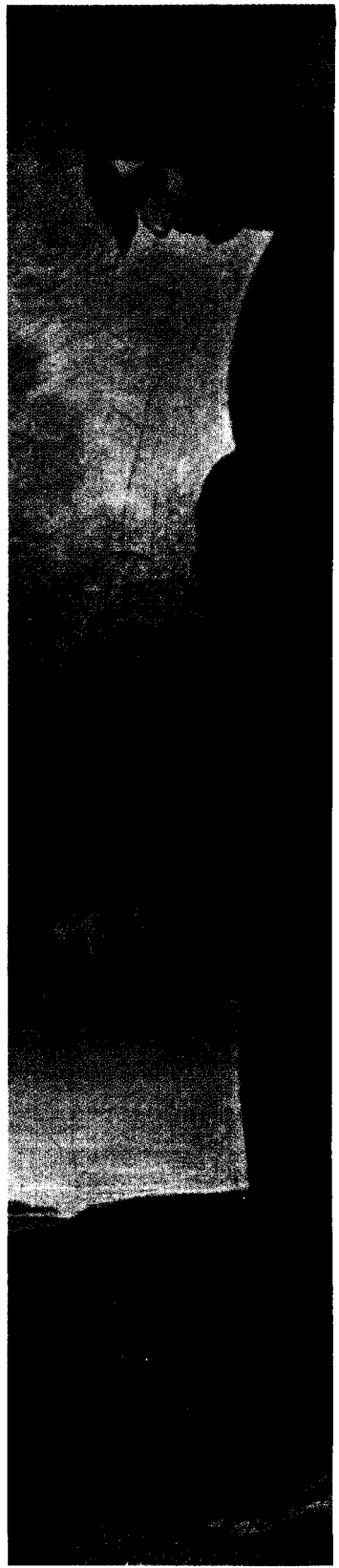
Meet the Foun

Gilbert Stuart, MRS. JOHN ADAMS (detail). National Gallery of Art. Gift of Mrs. Robert Homans 1954.



Susan Sedgwick, ELIZABETH FREEMAN. Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. (photo: National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C.)



John Singleton Copley, MARY AND ELIZABETH ROYALL (detail). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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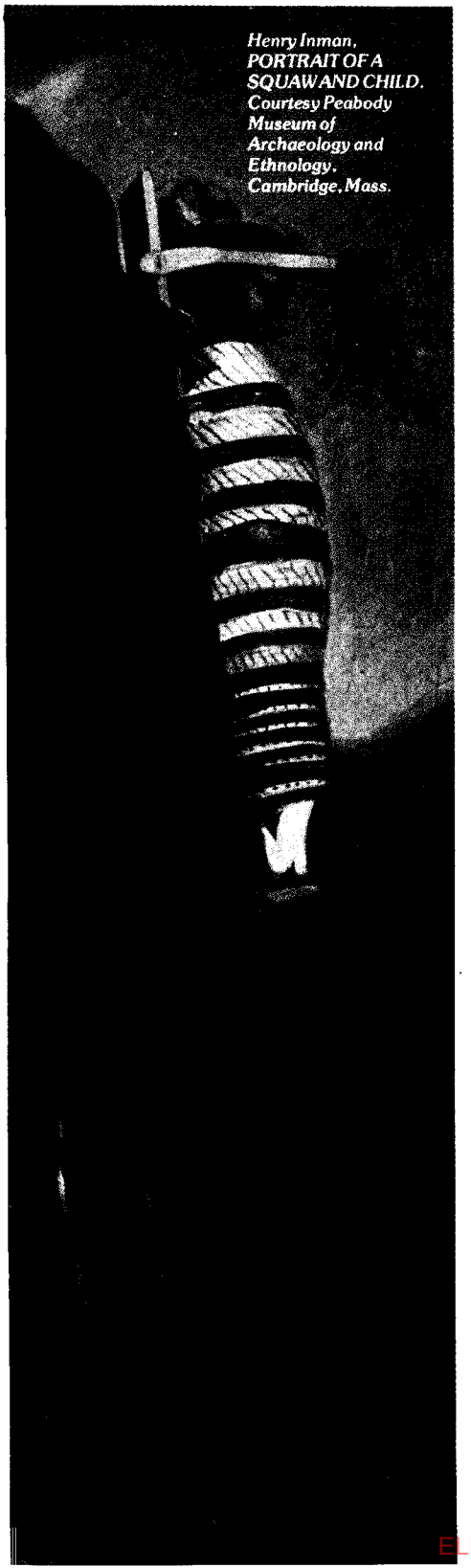
ding Mothers.



Henry Inman, PORTRAIT OF A SQUAW AND CHILD. Courtesy Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, Mass.

You're looking at a small part of an art exhibition and historical survey titled "Remember the Ladies."

It shows the art and craft of, and about, the Revolutionary women from 1750 to 1815.

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"Remember the Ladies," Women in America 1750-1815, appears at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Dec. 3 to Dec. 31, 1976; Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois, Jan. 18 to Feb. 20, 1977; Lyndon Baines Johnson Memorial Library, Austin, Texas, March 15 to April 23, 1977; The New-York Historical Society, N.Y., N.Y., May 10 to June 15, 1977. The exhibition is jointly sponsored by Clairol and Philip Morris Incorporated, with additional funding from the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities

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Etzioni and Myrdal *continued from page 47*

and to guide the private sector, through regulation, to be more attentive to worker safety, consumer needs, and the conservation of the environment.

Practically all commentators over the last year have pointed to the rejection of greater reliance on Big Government by the American people. In the presidential primaries, candidates from Fred Harris to Ronald Reagan, *and* all those in between, sounded some version of the "anti-Washington" theme. A 1976 survey found that two Americans in three distrust the government.

"Ambivalence" and "transition" are again key words. Study after study shows that many Americans do oppose Big Government—philosophically. They feel that in principle Americans would be better off if the federal government were smaller and spent less and if more reliance were placed on the private sector. Yet many of these same people, when asked about specific federal programs—from Medicare to aid to education to antipoverty programs—not only do not wish to see these programs cut but actually say they would like to see more spent on them. Thus, 70 percent of U.S. citizens feel that the federal government should "see to it" that every person who wants to work has a job. Similarly, many Americans state in the same breath that they would like to see less "government intervention" and more government regulation of consumer products, work safety, and the use of the environment.

Pragmatically, there has been a transition under way, *not* from reliance on the public sector to the private sector but, rather, in the *ways* the public sector works—from direct to indirect, from managing to financing. Thus, although most American hospitals (87 percent) are "voluntary" (not for profit) and the majority (77 percent) of nursing homes are proprietary (for profit), their foremost source of funds is the government (52 percent for hospitals, 61 percent for nursing homes). In providing low-income people with housing, the vogue is for the government to give them "housing allowances" to buy or to rent their new residences in the marketplace rather than for the government to contract directly with builders to build development projects. From parking-ticket collection to garbage disposal to school lunches, more and more services are provided through private and not-for-profit corporations, paid for but not administered by the government. The welfare reform currently in widest favor among experts would largely remove the welfare bureaucracy, social workers, and regulations from the picture and would replace them with check-writing machines and computers. The IRS would administer the program, checking only to see that recipients did not falsely state their income, not how they use their allowances.

The net result is not chiefly a "return to the private sector" in the sense that market mechanisms, firms, and family take care of the sick, young, elderly. The net result is an Americanized version of the Swedish human-services society —in which more and more public funds (55 percent of all by 1976) are used *indirectly* to guide both the for-profit and the voluntary sectors to advance the desired social goals in ways that are believed to be more efficient or more compatible with "the American way" than federal social services.

Before the President tries to shift further in this direction over the next four years, the ambivalence that riddles this recent transition should also be noted. The scandals in nursing homes, Medicaid, and day-care centers challenge the belief that services run by private (for profit) or voluntary (non profit) corporations are necessarily more efficient, economical, or of higher quality than those run by government. The next years will pose choices concerning not only what

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American system in the area of income maintenance, and with the inadequacy of other equalizing social policies, supervised public assistance has had to expand in an incomparable measure. Nevertheless, it remains inadequate to meet the needs of the poor.

Recognition of public responsibility for medical care and health protection has been slow to develop in the United States. Even now, in spite of Medicare and Medicaid and other federal, state, and local undertakings, health policies still remain a patchwork and are, unfortunately, unraveled by selfish exploitation and even corruption. Preventive medicine is, relatively speaking, underdeveloped in the country as a whole.

It is clear that the difficulties meeting any effort to instigate economic and social reform have been particularly great in a country with such a peculiar reluctance to interfere with people's liberty to do what they please, and with so little homogeneity—racially, culturally, and economically. These are the basic reasons why the United States has had such difficulties in achieving the welfare state that Franklin Roosevelt envisioned.

It is important to stress this relation between, on the one hand, the shortcomings in America of what in more advanced welfare states is done for equality and welfare without necessitating so much interference in the private life of the needy and, on the other hand, so much expansion of supervised public assistance. The public-assistance system in the United States is now generally acknowledged to be muddled, relatively expensive, humiliating, and unfair, as well as productive of many unfortunate effects on the welfare clientele.

What one would hope of a new President is that on the basis of the commonly shared dissatisfaction with the present welfare system, he could produce a fundamental reform that would afford more effective income maintenance for the welfare clientele and with less intrusion on their privacy.

In matters of health care, the President must prevail upon the Congress to give all Americans access to medical aid and provide leadership to resolve the differences of opinion that exist in Congress on comprehensive health reforms. This would mean, ultimately, instituting a full and equal national health program. The same challenge must be raised in the educational field.

Such a policy would be an extension of the Rooseveltian dream of treating economic and social reform as a moral issue. ◉

This article has been excerpted and amplified by Mr. Myrdal from his lecture "The National Purposes Reconsidered, 1776–1976," given at Columbia University, October 28, 1976.

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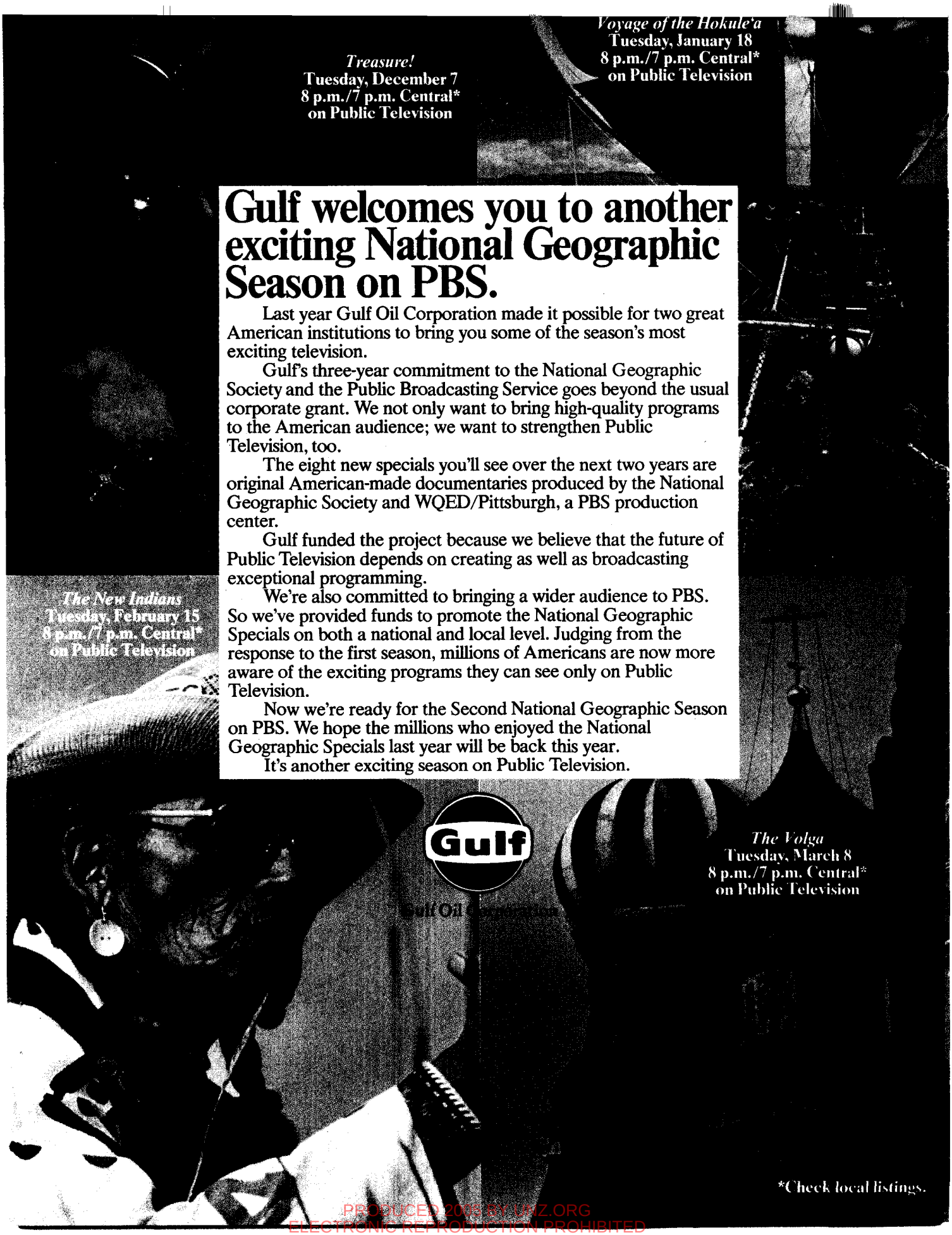

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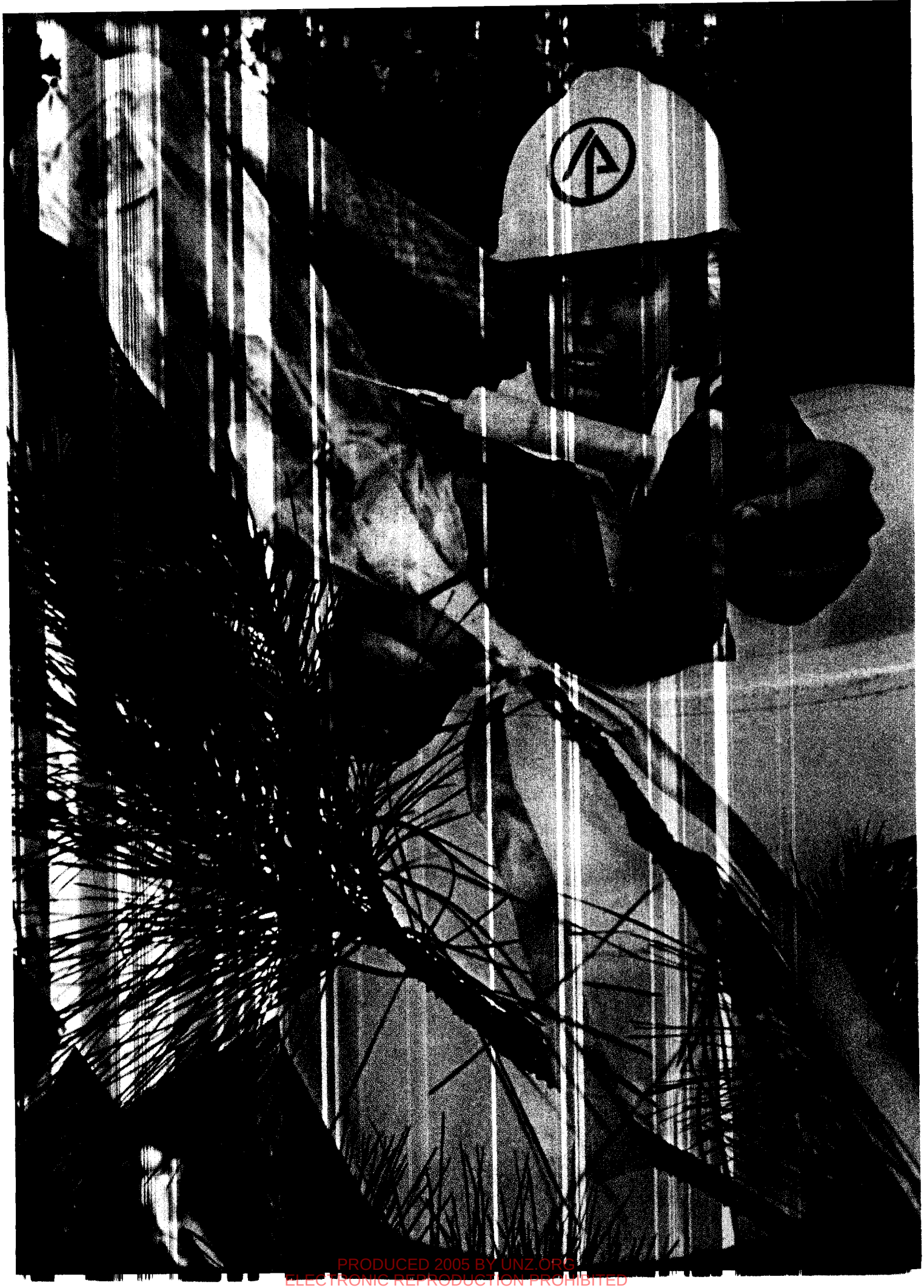

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purposes public funds are to be directed toward—more equality for the disadvantaged or more human services for all—but also which mechanisms—public or private—these efforts are to employ. At issue is not just the relative efficiency and integrity of the channels but the extent to which government will intervene in people's lives; hence, how governmental an America it will be.

BEYOND the much-debated issues of how to manage our public sector or what it ought to accomplish lies a deeper question: what life purposes does the President assume Americans find satisfying? What will make Americans happy? What societal vision, source of meaning, commitment, does the President seek to highlight? Societies tend to have a core theme, their "project," which implicitly they strive to advance, which takes precedence over others, helps set the hierarchy of values and rewards, shapes priorities, provides the citizenry with a vision of the future. For the medieval society the source of meaning lay in a "twin project" of worship and war (most deeply committing when combined, as in the Crusades). For the literati of traditional China, the highest expression was to be found in philosophy, poetry, and art. For the free men of ancient Athens, fulfillment was sought in active public life. America has long stood as the chief symbol and carrier of the capitalist project—a free society, marshaling a giant industrial machinery, to provide ever more of its citizens with ever more goods and services. Sweden is often cited as the second most affluent society and—because of its homogeneousness and lack of a large poor segment or minorities—even closer to a world in which "everybody" has or soon will have at least one TV set, a summer home, a boat, and a car.

The presidential mission may well prove to be the need to redefine or revitalize the American Dream, for in recent years the standard definition of the good life has been challenged. The challenge has not come from our current economic woes of inflation and unemployment (the Great Depression of the 1930s showed that American capitalism and its ideals could readily survive far worse). Rather, the most serious challenge is from alternative projects that question the underlying legitimacy of the stress on materialism. Again, the questioning has not come, on economic grounds, from the underprivileged, who in fact are more inclined to embrace the American Dream and seek their share in it, but from those who are reaping its benefits. First the questioning was conducted in the extreme, bizarre terminology of the counterculture, which sought a radical departure from the world of objects to satisfaction built on sensory stimulation via sex, drugs, mystical experiences, "nature," all of which entail little consumption of material goods. The counterculture cut out both the production-work side and the affluent-consumption end of the American project.

The counterculture soon crested but in its wake left a question shared, in varying degrees, and in a much more moderate form, by millions of Americans: is the good life one of hard work, robust competition, "making it," using the money earned and saved to buy ever more objects and services (and paying the taxes needed to secure more via the government)? Though not interested in adopting the hippie life-style of voluntary poverty, many Americans nonetheless began to wonder whether they were not in danger of being ruled by their possessions and of being run ragged by their insatiable drive to buy more. Many began to wonder whether they could make do with less. Similarly, though relatively few Americans were attracted to "dropping out" of school or work, many did find a more relaxed, less striving and stressful life-style appealing. Thus, many became comparatively less interested in "success," in focusing their energies on "getting ahead," in rising up into the next highest social class, and became more concerned with such nonmaterial pursuits as exploring their "inner selves" and relationships with others (via various therapies, religions, consciousness-raising groups, etc.).

"Ambivalence" is again the key word. At least 20 million Americans are estimated to hold second jobs, and more than 10 million married women have joined the labor force since 1950, in part motivated by the desire to buy more. But also there is a staggering increase in the number of Americans who retire earlier, at fifty-five, to enjoy life more and to work and consume less. And millions—no exact statistics seem to be available—change over each year to "second careers,"

"The counterculture sought a radical departure from the world of objects to satisfaction built on sensory stimulation."

which tend to be less lucrative but more fulfilling. Other millions clearly have slowed down: they are less likely to take their briefcases home or to sacrifice time with their families for business success. Every conceivable non-work, non-consumer activity is sharply on the rise, from visiting museums to Transcendental Meditation to jogging.

Louis Harris, in a 1976 poll, found that by an 85-to-9 majority, "people believe that the trouble with most leadership is that they don't understand that people want better quality of almost everything that they have rather than more quantity." Harris adds, "When the alternative is posed between changing our lifestyle to have less consumption of physical goods on the one hand, and enduring the risks of continued inflation and unemployment due to raw material shortages on the other, the American people opt for a change of style by a 77 to 8 percent majority."

In the longer run what is considered a good life, a good society, a desired future, may be more shaped by the people's reaction to the new realization of the nation's limited capacities than by anything else. Under the impact of external pressure (first from OPEC), domestic shortages, and the growing recognition of the limited ability of government to solve social problems, Americans must choose in the near future in what direction their main thrust will be: an attempt to resurrect the productive, hardworking, un-Swedenish early America? Reduce our material needs—for both private *and* public consumption—by a preoccupation with new definitions of the good life that are neither costly in resources nor work-intensive? Or find merit in investing our resources in the pursuit of a human-services society?

Ultimately President Carter cannot lead in opposition to the preferences and values of the people. He must remain sensitive to the changing public choices and initiate executive actions and promote legislature that will place into governmental motion these new commitments to the people. ◉

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"Most insects spend their brief days on earth trying desperately to be diners instead of dinners."

Photo by Henry Groskinsky

"But although man has harnessed the atom, he may be losing the battle against bugs."

A bug's life is brief, but apparently not joyless: they reproduce so enthusiastically that they can mutate out from under the deadliest insecticide within months. It's war, and the bugs are winning. Which is why, according to a recent cover story in the Environment section of TIME Magazine, scientists are leading insects down the garden path with fake sex hormones and other frustrating chemicals.

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TIME

The Weekly Newsmagazine

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A Green Thumb in a Mass of Clenched Fists

Letters of E. B. White
Edited by Dorothy Lobrano Guth
Harper & Row, 704 pp., $15

Reviewed by Jean Stafford

WHEN Ursula Nordstrom, of the Harper & Row juvenile department, who had edited E. B. White's books for children (*Stuart Little*, *Charlotte's Web*, *The Trumpet of the Swan*), suggested that White make a collection of his letters, he was reluctant, never having felt himself a master of the form. But then his wife, Katharine, unearthed a batch he had written to her in the Twenties and Thirties (the years of their romance and marriage and the early chaos at *The New Yorker*, for which both of them worked), and together they reread them. White began to fiddle with the idea, and I'm glad he did.

There are many strings to his bow, and the music he makes is usually tartly jubilant, his repertoire extensive. Elegiac tones are necessarily to be found in the work of so contemplative a man, and because he is sternly principled, notes of admonition and shock at the barbaric and venal way of the world wail, too. But the recital, on the whole, is genially amusing and amused. The reader is in the presence of a keenly interested observer, a friend of men, women, children, dogs, geese, turkeys (this I find perverse), sailing craft, automobiles (he mourns the passing of the ample touring car), trains—of which, of course, all but the memory is gone—and of good writing.

Here, then, we have a self-portrait not touched up by psychoanalytical interpretation or befogging hearsay; it is a direct and simple and largely detached history of a man who happens also to be one of the few surviving members of the nucleus of *The New Yorker*—or, rather, the history of two members, since his wife, the most prominent figure in the letters, was, from the beginning, one of Harold Ross's principal mainstays. As a bonus, therefore, we get love of the old-timers.

Elwyn Brooks White was the youngest of six children, the son of a sober, hard-working, prosperous man who was the president of a piano company. For his large family he built a large house, beset by lawns and shady trees, in suburban Mount Vernon, and here White spent his agreeable childhood and adolescence. After college he used it as a base for commuting to New York. Shy, unathletic (except for ice-skating, bicycling, and sailing in the summertime), diligent at school, where he got good marks "more from fear of failing than from intellectual curiosity," White lived in perpetual dread of the time when, in grammar school, he would have to recite a piece in front of a general assembly.

At Cornell he began to come out of his shell, and he got a new name. He had always disliked "Elwyn," so his Phi Beta Gamma fraternity brothers began to call him "Andy," a nickname usually given students named White, after the founder of the university, Andrew D. White. He tried out for and made *The Cornell Sun*, a substantial paper that appeared six days a week, had no faculty supervision, and carried AP news that came in over a nightly telephone hookup. The strongest and longest-lasting friendships he made at Ithaca were with Howard Cushman, editor of *The Widow*, and Gustave Lobrano. (Years later, Lobrano came to *The New Yorker* as an editor. Dorothy Guth, who has edited this book of letters, is Lo-

E. B. White—"I have occasionally had the exquisite thrill of putting my finger on a little capsule of truth."

The Granger Collection

Novelist, essayist, short-story writer Jean Stafford won the Pulitzer prize in 1970 for Collected Stories.

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brano's daughter and White's goddaughter.)

White's grades in college were adequate —he was no scholar, and it is evident in the letters that he has never been much of a reader. But he had a fine, fulfilling time of it, and when the ivied days were over, he "glowed with a fraudulent self-confidence, alight with love, full of importance." He had been a Big Man on Campus, and few experiences in early life can top that for headiness.

But the headiness is as ephemeral as the good parts of a champagne spree, and the hangover is a mean one. Cut down to size after college, Andy White was one of thousands of young men in search of a job. He haunted the newspaper offices of lower New York City and eventually was hired by the UP, where his job was "to edit copy continually and keep the right stuff going out on the right wires at the right time and in the right quantity" to New England, New Jersey, New York State, and Pennsylvania. It was no better than working on an assembly line in a factory. Commuting from Mount Vernon, he left home when the milkman came and got back late at night. He did not last long and went to work for a public-relations man, a situation equally enervating.

Later on, still commuting from Mount Vernon, he worked for a time in an advertising agency, and was stifled. But at last his luck began to change. He pulled himself out of the rut of dormitory living and moved to Manhattan, where he shared an apartment with three Cornell men, including Gus Lobrano. He began to come to life with good company and, in that good company, with the excitement of the city. The end of the rainbow was just around the corner, although he did not know about it yet. The treasure trove was *The New Yorker*, and its custodian was Harold Ross, assisted by Katharine Angell, née Sergeant, a beautiful and elegant transplanted Bostonian of incomparable energy and inventiveness who contrived to keep the helter-skelter of the young magazine in some semblance of order.

On the face of it, no two beings could have been a less likely team: Mrs. Angell, politely reared and educated at Miss Winsor's school for proper girls and at Bryn Mawr; and Harold Ross, a volatile, unpolished Westerner who had read little and who appeared to belong with the boys in the back room instead of up front with the dressy customers. (He was not pleased when his hometown, Aspen, Colo., became a cultural center.) But in him, the want of learning was beside the point: he knew good writing when he saw it, and this instinctive perspicacity, together with Mrs. Angell's genius for editing and her encouragement of writers without their being consciously aware of it, paid off very soon and very well.

It is said that Katharine White went to work for *The New Yorker* to take her mind off her tottering marriage to Ernest Angell, a lawyer, by whom she had a son, Roger (now a staff member of the magazine), and a daughter, Nancy. Whatever the circumstances, she and E. B. White took to each other at their first introduction in Ross's office, and when her divorce was final, they entered into a marriage that, in its forty-seventh year, remains, judging from the letters and interoffice memos, serene, highly entertaining, and continually surprising.

For much of his life, White was torn between Maine and New York City, both of which he loved. White sometimes stayed in Maine alone, and he lived pretty much as a tramp; to Miss Daise Terry, the beloved overseer of a group of stenographers as well as general housekeeper at *The New Yorker*, he wrote in 1954:

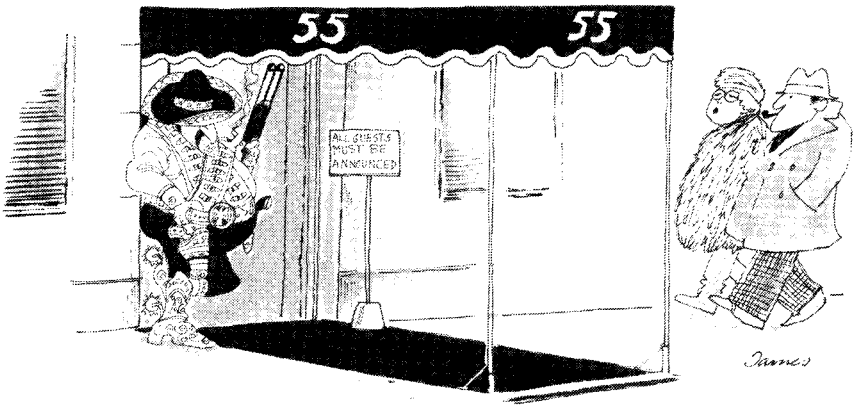
> Am living on a straight diet of rye whiskey and Franco-American spaghetti. . . . Luckily we had a wonderful spaghetti crop last summer and it keeps well. I find it the most convenient of all foods because while it is warming in the saucepan I keep tasting it to see if it is warm enough, and by the time it is warm enough to eat, it is all eaten, so that means there are no dishes to wash—all I have to do is rinse the empty saucepan and hang it up on its nail over the stove. If you encounter my wife you might tell her that I am alive, as she will be wondering about that.

After summering several years in Maine, White and Katharine bought their present saltwater farm at North Brooklin—the pastures terminate in clamflats—and now they live there permanently. In earlier days, they had sometimes spent a year or more at a stretch there, Katharine doing her full job of editing fiction and poetry by mail and telephone, reviewing children's books and books on gardening, while White wrote "Comment" and the tags to go with newsbreaks (some of these, especially in the department of "Answers to Hard Questions," are morsels of pith as choicely delicious as anything on earth) as well as his own essays and poems. They would then return to New York for months or years, living first in Greenwich Village on Eighth Street and then in Turtle Bay.

Of his dilemma, White wrote Thurber, after the publication of a book of poems, *The Fox of Peapack*:

> It is apparent from reviews and sales that I will have to write something a whole lot better than that if I am to continue in this game. I don't know what is more discouraging, literature or chickens. Roup, favus, thrush, range paralysis, the spiral stomach worm, the incessant shaking of the head—these specters take place alongside rejected newsbreaks, teeny books of poems, and the exhaustion of the fortieth birthday. Incidentally, my fear of mold . . . is still strong; and I am delighted to learn in my poultry bulletin that my birds and I may be called away together. . . . An iceboat is a good way to get away from mold —except, of course, the sail. The sail can get moldy and you have to watch it.

His allergies, which began when he began, are nearly countless; he is grossly insulted by just about every kind of pol-



"I see 55 has a new doorman."

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len, and mold is as widely distributed throughout the globe as water (I made up that statistic, but I bet I'm not far off). Considering these frailties, a less willful man, you'd think, would stay in air-conditioned and cork-lined offices, city saloons, and city hotels. But if White did, he would (after first going crazy) die of loneliness and a broken heart. He was born to traffic with nature, the seamy side and all.

In a letter to his brother Stanley, written in 1929, when he was now at home with himself (as much so as he would ever be) at *The New Yorker*, he stated his creed thus:

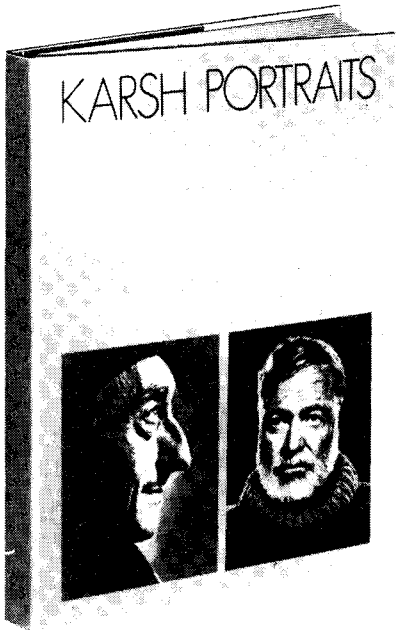
> I discovered a long time ago that writing of the small things of the day, the trivial matters of the heart, the inconsequential but near things of this living, was the only kind of creative work which I could accomplish with any sincerity or grace. As a reporter, I was a flop, because I always came back laden not with facts about the case, but with a mind full of the little difficulties and amusements I had encountered in my travels. Not till *The New Yorker* came along did I ever find any means of expressing those impertinences and irrelevancies. . . . The rewards of such endeavor are not that I have acquired an audience or a following, as you suggest (fame of any kind being a Pyrrhic victory), but that sometimes in writing of myself —which is the only subject anyone knows intimately—I have occasionally had the exquisite thrill of putting my finger on a little capsule of truth, and heard it give the faint squeak of mortality under my pressure, an antic sound.

He is not good-tempered with those who ask him to elucidate symbols in his essays or social significance in his children's books. And although his voice is always well modulated, he sometimes used it scathingly against corruption among writers, both those who are self-exploiting and those who have been exploited. On one occasion, Alexander Woollcott sent out a form letter, asking that at Christmas he be sent a bottle of Seagram's whiskey instead of "an indestructible object" he would have to "shove up in the attic." White, receiving one of these, wrote a reply (Woollcott's present from him was already wrapped—a fur tippet lined with burrs), which, together with Woollcott's request, appeared in *The New Yorker*. He wrote:

> First, I am convinced that a testimonial, in effect and purpose, is a piece of snobbery, the implication being that because the testifier is celebrated, he is to be aped by the less distinguished citizenry. . . . My other reason is the one that everything really hangs on: the importance of a writer's maintaining his amateur standing. . . . I have read you for years. When I heard you plead for civil liberties on the air, I was excited and moved by so eloquent and honest a shot fired toward what I know to be the enemy. When I run across your steady and loyal diligence on behalf of the blind, I feel good that there is still charity and decency round and about. . . . Then in the midst of your writing comes a letter with a phony salutation and a printed signature, saying that you like Seagram's whiskey.

In the mid-Forties, Ross and White discovered that De Witt Wallace, editor of *The Reader's Digest*, was planting articles in magazines in order to reprint them, hacked up and rendered senseless by amputation and elision, and that he was paying large sums to the writers and magazines. White wrote a letter, which appeared in *The New Yorker*, deploring the shoddy and mercantile practice, and, picked up by *The New York Times*, the protest brought on repercussions in the publishing world that *The Digest* has never lived down. And within the past twelve months, busy with hay and hayfever in Maine, E. B. White made the front page of *The New York Times* with a blast against *Esquire* for publishing an article written by Harrison E. Salisbury but paid for by the Xerox Corporation.

E. B. White is an enviable man: his talent tortures but sustains him; some of his stupid turkeys die, but many of them live and taste good. He is never at peace with himself or the turkeys but is always grateful for the phenomenal in nature, and almost everything in nature *is* phenomenal to him—the northern lights, the flowering of Katharine's spectacular roses, the way bees make honey. He is equally grateful for the phenomenal in *Homo sapiens*, in whom the good and the beautiful are not so plentiful as they are on the land or in the sea. But when they manifest themselves, he cheers. It is too bad that he is *sui generis*. He sticks out like a green thumb in a mass of clenched fists and nimble fingers picking pockets. ◉



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Books

Gadarene White House

Blind Ambition
by John Dean
Simon & Schuster, 415 pp., $11.95

Reviewed by Garry Wills

> He also spoke rapidly and hurriedly, but with assurance and without having to search for the right word. His thoughts were calmly formulated despite his hurried enunciation, and they had something precise and final about them that was very striking indeed. His articulation was remarkably clear—words poured out of him like small, even grains, carefully selected and always ready to serve. At first, the effect of this was pleasing, but after a while one began to feel uncomfortable over his too-perfect articulation and his smooth flow of ever-ready words. One began to imagine that the tongue in his mouth had something special about it, that it was very long and thin, very red, and exceptionally pointed, with a constantly flickering tip.
> —description of Peter Verkhovensky in Dostoevski's *The Demons*

JOHN DEAN tells us, in *Blind Ambition*, how he trained himself to drone facts at the Ervin committee in a colorless way, fact-on-fact drilling at the targeted area, remorselessly mordant. He studied a tape of himself being interviewed by Walter Cronkite to screen out all expression or emphasis in his manner. Manner had to be sacrificed to matter—he had to agree to his being hated as a condition of his being believed. His lawyer made him cut all the "self-serving crap" from his testimony. His only chance of escaping the consequences of his guilt was to establish his guilt as part of his credibility. He had to study the role of the cool rat as he had studied, earlier, the role of ingratiating toady.

He shrewdly adheres to the same strategy in his book. The pages are alive with convincing details, observed through a cool, amoral lens—a lizard's-eye view of the slime. (The truly slimy thing about Joseph Alsop's sustained campaign against Dean as a "bottom-dwelling slug" was that Alsop launched it to save all the larger slugs Dean moved among.) As usual Dean has gauged his audience well. The book works brilliantly. Just compare it with the fluffy preening of his wife's book to see how wise was his choice.

Dean was always good at pleasing the constituency he worked for. If he works now at the image of having no image—I am an ultrared camera in this abyss—we know he has practiced before the mirror almost as much as his wife did. He just chooses his target and ammunition more shrewdly. His candor is obviously artful, without losing its edge. His very self-centeredness involves constant outward attention—he needs to know all the incriminating things about himself, and admit them, to incriminate others and make himself too useful for us to dispense with him. The tricks he played on Nixon he now plays on us, and we, no more than Nixon, can do without him. Nixon needed him to establish his innocence. We need him to establish Nixon's guilt. Dean has given up all hope of being loved. He will settle for being needed.

The book has an evil fascination to it precisely because it is so patently true. Only partially true, of course, as all men's grasp of their own case must be—but Dean tried to serve Nixon with far less ample truths, and his account will sink the plausibility of any Nixon memoir. It is the strange trick of Dean to make one feel soiled by the truth, to use fact as a nasty weapon. At one point Dean, trammeled in his own cover-up ideas and trying to cut his losses, compares himself to Raskolnikov, impelled toward an act he can neither will nor *not* will. This may be a bit pretentious, but the claustrophobic world Dean recreates is Dostoevskian, a place of genial buffoons and destructive innocents, all of whom have breathed each other's air too long.

Dean welcomed Watergate as he had welcomed, earlier, the threat of demon-

"These office parties really bring out the inner person, don't they?"

Garry Wills is Washington Irving professor of modern literary and historical studies at Union College.

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strators' violence around the White House. "Mayday" was an excuse for Dean to aggrandize his position and to make his office a control center for intelligence on the "enemy," to crank out reports that magnified his own past role and future importance in containing this great threat. Such empire-building is the story of many government programs. It is impossible to tell whether Dean thought radicals really posed a threat of disruption. It hardly matters. He would have acted the same way no matter what he thought. He was feeding the delusions of his masters, putting himself at their disposal in order to have them at his disposal later on. It might even be better if the threat were to evaporate. He would have them at a disadvantage over their embarrassment if the truth came out.

That was the kind of training that made Dean seize on Watergate as his big opportunity. Despite his fancy title, Counsel to the President, he rarely entered the Oval Office—the true *penetrabile* for his coolly erotic power drive. He was really a glorified errand boy for Haldeman and Ehrlichman, a prize they had wrested from John Mitchell in the constant vicious battle over pawns. Watergate changed all that. The lower rats were scurrying; they needed legal advice—and Dean's office had the resources they could call on. Dean welcomed these troubled people, hoping to bank up all their troubles as his own investment. He became the center of the first, lower-level cover-up before he knew exactly how much there was to be covered up. His own hope was to form a network of flunkies beholden to him, in a long-range blackmail scheme inseparable from ordinary politics in the Executive Office Building.

And in time it looked as if Haldeman and Ehrlichman might come within his power, too—and they were too big a catch to be handled safely. They would make him the catcher caught. Already he had begun to realize that each step deeper into the cover-up gave out as many hostages as it gathered—he began to want out. But, ironically, the fulfillment of his hopes now rose to block him. The door to the President's office finally swung open, and left him no exit. If you would curse a man, just answer his prayers.

The President grappled Dean to him, and Dean tried to smile and ignore the fact that it was a death grip. Nixon sounded him out, encouraging, giving oblique nods to further payments of hush money, wondering how much Dean knew and how far he would go—and how, if the need arose,

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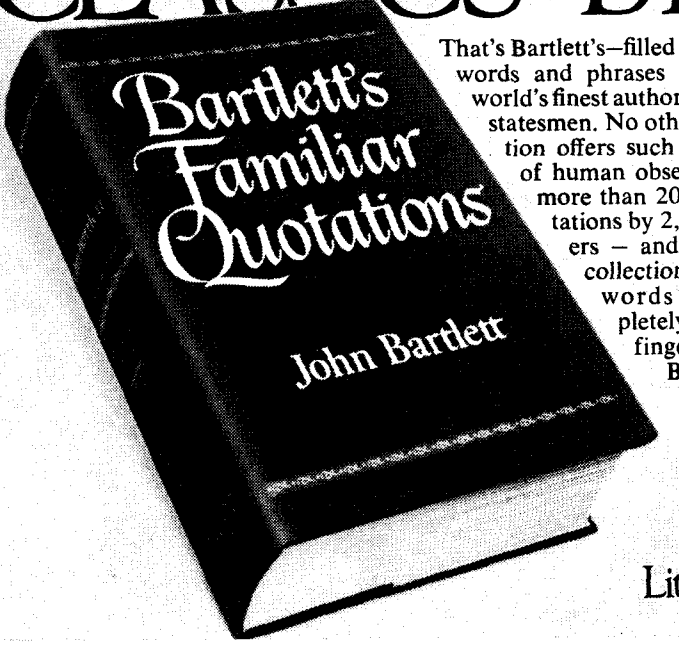

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he could be set up as another patsy, after Mitchell and the others. Dean soon realized what game was being played on him. It was the same game he had played on others, farther down. Even Dean could not believe at first that the President himself preyed on enemies, not certain who was an enemy, thus forcing enmity on everyone.

But Dean was given room to maneuver precisely because he came in so deep so late. A Haldeman or Ehrlichman could not cut and run. Probably Dean could not either, but he was willing to try. He knew he was caught in a kill-or-be-killed situation with the President of the United States, and the longer he stayed with him the worse the (already overwhelming) odds became. The cool decision to cut took deep reserves of gall. Dean was totally alone. His wife—a decorative adjunct, like his Porsche—was useless in this struggle. No allies could be sought in the White House, where every alliance was a snare, an attempt to implicate as a means of mutual protection. Dean sought the best lawyer he could find—Charles Schaffer, who becomes the rather pompous comic hero of this tale—to bargain him out of the President's embrace, so long sought but now recognized as the kiss of death.

EHRLICHMAN had thought up the idea of a Dean report on the Watergate break-in, and Nixon desperately used the idea in a press conference before Dean was even told about it. The report was designed for several presidential uses. If Dean confessed his own actions, that would put him at the mercy of the Oval Office schemers, who might fire or discredit him before he could tell his larger story and bargain for grace. But if he lied about his activities, that would allow the President later on to plead ignorance and say, "My own lawyer lied to me when I asked him to investigate."

Dean's fate now depended on his finding a way to turn the Dean report against its inventors. He had to pretend to be working on it while he bought time and opened escape routes. The President could not very well fire him until he had in his hand the precious report so many things now depended on. Dean needed to keep the project alive as desperately as he needed never to finish it.

Nixon was tempted to go along with the stall, since he was using the Dean report as his own excuse for not cooperating with outside investigations. Much as he wanted Dean's piece of paper as an insurance

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policy, he found it convenient to say the investigation was still under way. By the kind of reversal happening daily in that White House, each weapon was a danger to its wielder. A circle of deadly intimates had pulled the pins on individual hand grenades, and each was calculating to the minisecond just when he had to give it a toss.

Only when he was forced to go to Camp David to complete his report did Dean hire an outside lawyer by telephone. He knew he could not stall much longer—though he kept commuting from the prosecutors to the cover-up team for a while. Haldeman and the others were no longer friendly. Dean seemed to be kept on in order to be observed. (He misses one obvious point here. He notes that the White House people were not surprised when he said he had a lawyer, or even when he said he had gone to the prosecutors. He seems to overlook the fact that he called his lawyer from Camp David. One of the reasons, very likely, that he was sent there was so his conversations and phone calls could be easily recorded.)

So they all nudged each other toward a mutual fate, setting each other up, taping and bugging reciprocally, helping in ways that undermined, welcoming today's co-conspirator in the hope that he might be tomorrow's scapegoat. The place was thick with melodrama no one but Dean seems calculating enough to have observed in any detail. This is not the story of Raskolnikov but of Peter Verkhovensky in *The Demons*, the compulsive plotter who tries to outscheme God as a way of proving He does not exist. Dean, it is true, did not arrange a murder simply to put all those implicated in it at his mercy. In that sense, he is a two-bit Verkhovensky. But Dean did welcome the Watergate crimes as a way of using official criminals for his own advancement, and his shameless skill at this desperate game evokes the same admiration, on a technical level, that Peter's does.

It will be remembered that Dostoevski took the title for *The Demons* (or *The Demoniacs*) from the Gospel story of the Gadarene swine. In Mark's version of that tale, when the possessor is forced to yield up his name (and thus his power), he confesses: "My name is Mob, for I am many." The story tells how dithery multiple self-defeating strengths in a single man expend themselves down the porcine huddle toward the sea. Dean gives us a modern pig's-eye view of the slop in Gadara—not a pretty sight, but a scary and useful one. ◉

"I want you to tattoo 'Long live the king' all over my body!"

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Death Among the Ruins

The Autumn of the Patriarch
by Gabriel García Márquez
Translated from the Spanish
by Gregory Rabassa
Harper & Row, 269 pp., $10

Reviewed by Stephen Koch

In 1970 a long novel called *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, written by a previously admired, but ignored, Latin American short-story writer named Gabriel García Márquez, appeared in English translation. Though grounded in characteristic sources of Latin American fiction—most noticeably an intensely self-conscious awareness of modernist aesthetics (surrealism above all) in union with a marvelously vivid tradition of folkloristic storytelling—the book seemed to be in a class by itself. Page after page was so bizarre, so amazingly well written (even through the almost invisible veil of translation), so brilliantly conceived, that it was impossible to think of the book in routine terms. I remember my own introduction to it. An editor, over drinks, shoved the book my way and said: "Read the first sentence. Just the first sentence." I did, and I remember it still: "Many years later, as he faced the firing squad, Colonel Aureliano Buendía was to remember that distant afternoon when his father took him to discover ice."

Everything to come sustains the promise of that first sentence. The book is a masterpiece. Passing through the generations of a mythic family in the hot isolation of the semitropics, it is a saga possessed throughout by an elegant, baroque conception of narrative time and of the passage of the years; a conception adumbrated by the stunning narrative trigonometry of that first sentence's three-point location in the unnamed event to which the firing squad comes "later"; the moment before death; and the childhood memory of the little boy from the semitropics discovering ice, to him a wonder.

"Don't worry, Dad, right after the Bicentennial I'll go back to emulating you."

And now the much-awaited *Autumn of the Patriarch*, the book on which García Márquez has been working since *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, has appeared. In fairness to García Márquez and the reader, this book ought to be discussed outside the context of its predecessor. It seems a bore, not to say unjust, to keep turning the pages with the thought, This is not *One Hundred Years of Solitude*.

It is not. It is quite different—not quite as exciting but nonetheless a creditable and remarkable performance in its own terms. Yet for all its obvious differences, *Autumn of the Patriarch* is artistically, formally, a companion volume to *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, a companion in contrast, an alternative in a rich artistic vision and dilemma.

In contrast to the first book's elegant elaboration on time's passage, *Autumn of the Patriarch* obliterates the sense of time in a series of verbal whirlwinds moving around a set of obsessional images. These are images of brutal power and of the fear of death expressed variously by and about a Latin American dictator who is found dead in his presidential palace. No one knows how long he has been dead; vultures are picking at his corpse; the palace is in ruins; pigs and chickens wander in the collapsing corridors. He has been a kind of Collier brother of autocracy. For years—centuries, it seems—he has ruled, his story lost in myth. He has lived among dogs and guards and dodges and plots. He has been glimpsed only through the windows of carriages and limousines, a brute surrounded by tawdry magnificence. In a Joycean delirium of language and associations, the novel proceeds to swirl around and through the megalomania of power, the strategies, the brutalities, the myths, and the hysteria of his endless, his timeless, reign of gloom. In the process García Márquez creates an intensely suggestive structure of meanings that radiate outward from the mythic general's struggle to let absolutely *nothing* change in his war against death.

The Joycean manner has shipwrecked more than one first-rate practitioner, but García Márquez never loses mastery for a moment, and one is easily swept into his

Stephen Koch, author of Stargazer: Andy Warhol's World & His Films, *appears frequently in these pages.*

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torrential invocations of autocracy and folklore and history and superstition. In the Joycean manner (it is here that Gregory Rabassa's seamless translation is, to my ear at least, most remarkable), his prose moves easily back and forth from gutter talk to the highest high style, and the political and spiritual ironies and passions resonate continuously. García Márquez himself seems almost delirious with his own incantatory prowess, and the cornucopia of his talent seems never to fail. Yet it is possible for the manner to pall. The pace and rhythm of *One Hundred Years of Solitude* were astonishingly varied. In the new book, the Joycean sentence assumes a slow, unchanging single beat and frequently rolls on for twenty pages at a time. Because the prose lacks the energy of the full stop, a certain slack monotony can and does sometimes set in. The sentence becomes a kind of vacuum cleaner of vividness, endlessly sucking one along.

Yet all of that is part of García Márquez's entire vision, and even if it is a weakness, one should not complain too much. In a typical late-modernist manner, he is obsessed with the problem of real life in the real world of real time, and of the solitude (that solitude mentioned in his great title) of the isolated imagination, intoxicated by itself. In contrast to the lush absorption in time's texture presented in his first novel, *Autumn of the Patriarch* finds its form in a brilliant delirium of language and finds its content in a crazed, comic megalomania of power that tries to hold off forever the natural processes of life, history, time itself. The ripples from that crackbrained static center spread everywhere: to politics and to what García Márquez seems to see as Latin America's war against history; to sex, with the general's mad notions about love and manhood; to the spiritual and emotional life; and to the obsession with control. Moving slowly through 100 years of solitude, García Márquez delivered himself over, paradoxically enough, to this solipsistic ecstasy, and if his new novel is in many ways a lesser achievement, it nonetheless would seem to have kept him true to himself, for it reads like a brilliant exorcism of that dilemma. When the corpse of that self-infatuated old man is finally cleared away, García Márquez speaks, on his final page, about the "crowds who look to the streets singing hymns of joy at the jubilant news of his death and . . . the rockets of jubilation . . . that announced to the world the good news that the uncountable time of eternity had come to an end." ◉

Books in Brief

Amateurs
by Donald Barthelme
Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 184 pp., $7.95

DONALD BARTHELME is a wonderfully inventive writer, the finest practitioner in the American school of *ficciónes* influenced along the way by Borges. His latest short-story collection, *Amateurs*, offers fresh surprise with uncanny juxtapositions of people, animals, insects, objects, and places of the environment and mind. Incongruities give epiphanies, for example, through a herd of porcupines rejected for admission to a university; an immense bull—ringing like a telephone—come to claim the wounded body of a *torero*; a circle of friends hanging a companion for no reason other than that "he had gone too far." The "literary" reader is recipient of not infrequent ironic allusions, such as the presence of the Fisher King at an exhibition of a turbine engine.

Yet, Barthelme is not arcane. He tells his unlikely tales through disembodied voices, echoing the dry deadpan of T.S. Eliot's "Sweeney Agonistes." Echoes of alienated Eliot—and shades of involuted Borges—notwithstanding, Barthelme does not camp out with the elitists. In his curious way, he is a sentimentalist, a democrat by temperament, a dyed-in-the-wool liberal. He offers gestalts on behalf of the multitude he champions, on behalf of

Fraser Young
Literary Crypt No. 73

A crytogram is writing in cipher. Every letter is part of a code that remains constant throughout the puzzle. Answer on page 92.

ASANK NATVNX FE VCRK D XDEI JCUAN HVSAN VT GYFHY D XVNA WANNFMRA NATVNX, GYFHY UDNAE CVW KAW CDXA FWEART, DUSDCHAE.

—AXANEVC

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mechanized, betrayed Everyman. For that reason he reaches a larger audience than his influencers. The public wants reassurance, and Barthelme, true to his vision, gives it to them. He counters grim, audacious, outrageous reality with a wry wit, warm heart, and sympathetic—if surreal—eye. —LINDA KUEHL

The Face of Battle
by John Keegan
Viking, 354 pp., $10.95

SHUNNING conventional approaches to writing military history, which one way or another lend seeming order to actual chaos, Keegan here presents an engrossing study of what, at least until recently, can be called the sharp end of war: man-to-man combat on the battlefield.

He illustrates the changing and changeless face of battle by means of an analysis-cum-reconstruction of three richly documented encounters: Agincourt, Waterloo, and the Somme. Ignoring generalship, strategy, and logistics to focus on the lot and the behavior of the common soldier, he describes the noise, smoke, and confusion of these battle environments, the assorted weaponry the soldiers used or faced—from the longbows that humbled French knighthood at Agincourt to the machine guns that mowed down British infantry battalions on the Somme—and the soldiers' likely fate if wounded or captured. He also examines a medley of practical and psychological determinants that affect the will to combat, ranging from patriotism, honor, courage, group loyalty, and religion to fatigue, hunger, cold, alcohol, and the ability, or inability, to run away. In light of Keegan's belief that battle is essentially a moral conflict and that "inside every army is a crowd struggling to get out" (possibly his most challenging insight), it's not surprising that fear and the control of fear should form the leitmotiv of his whole account.

Surveying the inhumanities of technological warfare, Keegan, who teaches military history at Sandhurst, speculates that modern man may not be up to the strains such warfare imposes, that battle (as opposed to the guerrilla skirmish) may have "abolished itself."

The book is not only an intricate and convincing depiction of what battle is really like, but something more unusual: a carefully calibrated meditation on war.

—PETER GARDNER

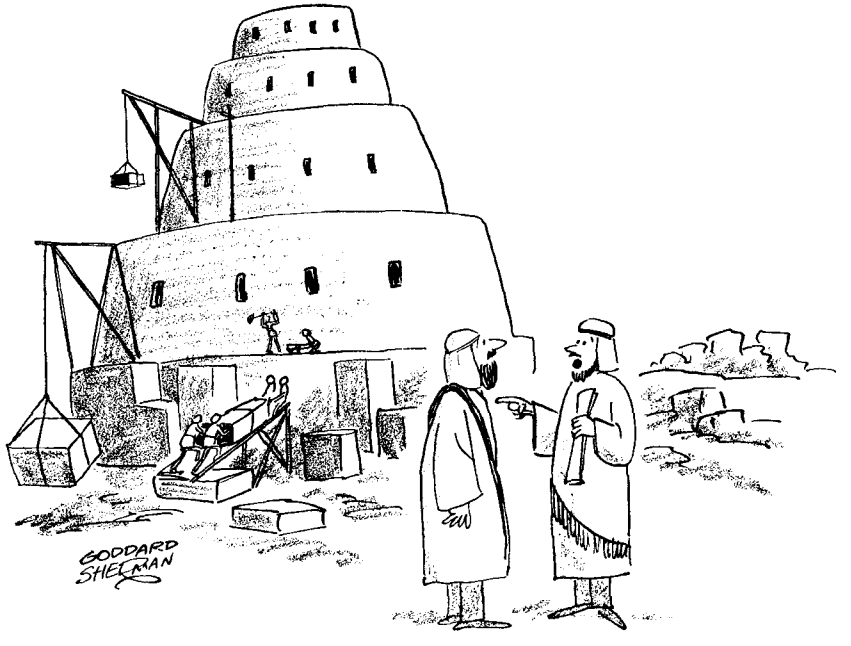
A Dark Night's Passing
by Naoya Shiga
Translated by Edwin McClellan
Kodansha, 408 pp., $15

WESTERN readers of Oriental literature will shudder to discover that the Japanese regard this novel, completed in 1937 and here translated into English for the first time, as a modern classic and its author as "the god of the novel." The thin plot—a rare fictional touch and clearly a burden—turns on the protagonist's discovery that he is the offspring of an illicit alliance between his mother and her father-in-law. Kensaku's attempt to comprehend the meaning of his birth might have made a revealing, if melodramatic, search for self-discovery. But Kensaku is loath to reveal anything more psychologically precise about himself than that he feels "an emptiness inside him." Instead, the author uses the novel to record without comment the minute physical details of his own life. So we are only told that Kensaku travels, meets his friends, and drinks with geisha. Theme and character quickly disappear in this abundance of diary notation.

Discursiveness, limp characterization, and a monotonous focus on the hero would seem flaws enough to disqualify this novel from serious consideration. Yet its success assured the domination of the autobiographical novel in Japan. Fiction was scorned, and the "I-novelists" strained to equal Shiga's "sincerity" by writing objective accounts of their personal experiences. The genre placed an extraordinary strain upon the writer and his quest for material. Modern Japanese literature is strewn with the lives of authors who repeatedly attempted suicide, indulged in unsuitable romances, or searched out obscure torments in order to be able to include these dramatic events in their novels.

Shiga's undeniable achievement is a plain but subtly resonating prose style. Descriptive passages delicately mix natural images with empty, unspoken spaces. The poetic evocations of smoke atop valleys, moss-scented air, light in the forest, and herons' cries convey quiet nuances of feeling long cherished in Japan.

—PHYLLIS BIRNBAUM



"Parlez-vous Babel?"

Remember Me
by Fay Weldon
Random House, 248 pp., $7.95

MADELEINE'S problems are modern and deplorable. She is divorced and her husband, Jarvis, has remarried an antiseptically lovely replacement. Exiled to a damp basement flat, she must contend with secondhand clothing, despair, and an obese daughter's addiction to Sugar Puffs. Rumpled and raging, Madeleine demands sympathy for her plight.

With masterly irony, Fay Weldon makes plain that Madeleine dispenses misery as freely as she receives it. When she was still married, Madeleine tor-

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mented everyone with her social conscience. Unfortunately she did little else to prove her commitment to the teeming millions than maintain her house in an appallingly unkempt state. Her battered garbage pails, reeking always of uncollected, rotting vegetables, were all she considered necessary to prove lofty moral principles; "tat and junk," Madeleine sneers, with revolutionary scorn for all interior decoration.

In life and death, Madeleine's complaints cannot be quieted. She brings guilt to Jarvis and his tidy, untroubled existence. Even a conventional housewife named Margot feels united temporarily with Madeleine and all feminine distress. Only Jarvis's second wife, Lily, remains impervious to Madeleine's yearnings. Lily does not waste a moment on guerrilla movements in Manila. Her only causes are Victorian doorbells, dieting, and neo-Peking fashion trends.

Weldon takes us through outrage, dinner parties, infidelity, and overeating, all with the same intelligent, exhausting intensity. Precise satire, impassioned monologue, and a sense of limited human possibility make this novel a daring examination of twentieth-century discontent.

—P. B.

Freedom Spent
by Richard Harris
Little, Brown, 391 pp., $12.95

OBVIOUSLY disconcerted by the Bicentennial mood of self-congratulation, Richard Harris serves notice by accusing the American government of often denying its citizens the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. To document this charge, he chronicles the legal odysseys of five defendants whose fundamental freedoms were trampled by an arbitrary judicial system intent upon stifling meaningful dissent. Specifically, we are witness to a high-school teacher's being persecuted for freely expressing his opposition to the Vietnam War, a married couple's home being invaded by a backwater authority in the course of a sedition investigation, and finally a lesbian couple's being denied the protection against self-incrimination in a grand-jury hearing pursuant to a federal crime.

Never mind that these victims were ultimately exonerated; Harris is indignant that they were pursued at all. To the extent that this provocative study impales the occasional abuses of the judiciary, it is worth attentive consideration. As an indictment against our constitutional integrity, *Freedom Spent* is too often submerged beneath the murky depths of hyperbole.

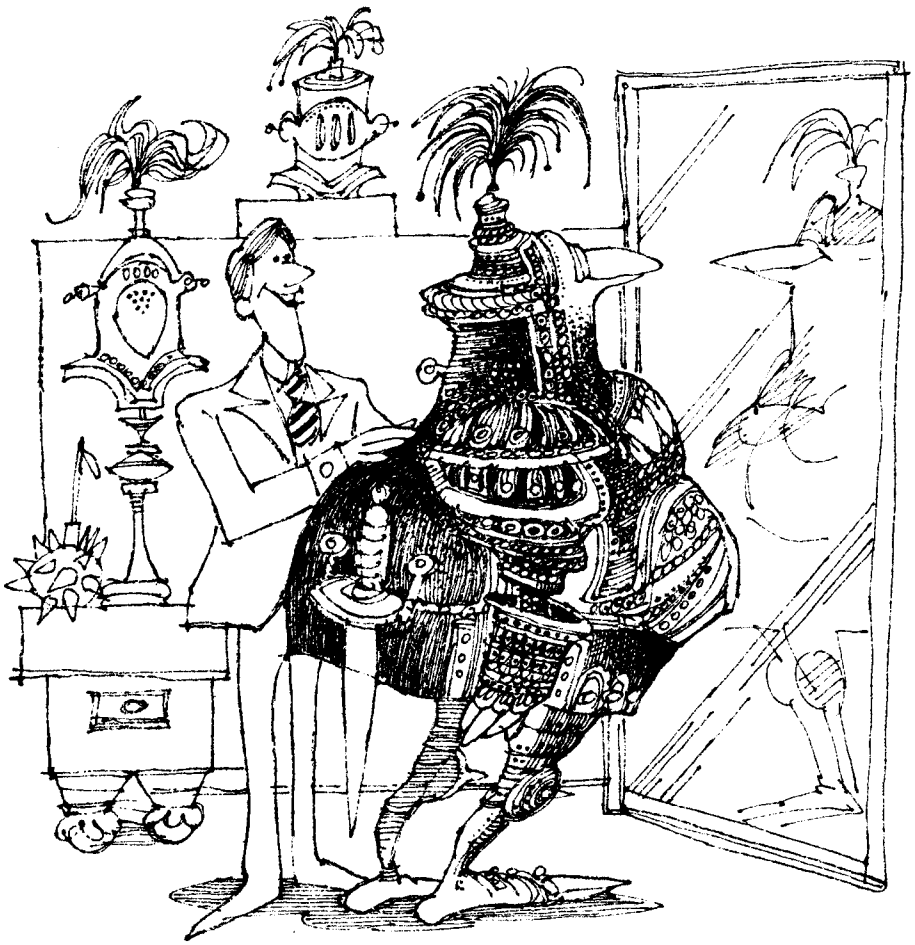
—ALAN L. MILLER

Youthful Writings (Cahiers II)
by Albert Camus
Introduction by Paul Viallaneix
Translated by Ellen Conroy Kennedy
Knopf, 192 pp., $8.95

ALBERT CAMUS gained early fame with his chilly renderings of the uncompromising existentialist hero (*The Stranger*) and the stoically happy Sisyphus, perpetually rolling his stone (*The Myth of Sisyphus*). Who, then, amid the earnestness of World War II, would have said Camus possessed a "too mystical soul" and a "sensitivity too ready to spill over"? Yet Camus had said so himself and proved this possession in the critical and lyrical prose written between the ages of nineteen and twenty-one. With naive intensity, these writings record Camus' flights into "reverie," "oblivion," fairy tales, idealism, and easy emotion. They also show him slowly detecting the danger to his art presented by these flights: "I ought to learn to master my sensitivity," he says, "beneath irony and coolness. . . . Sensitivity ought to speak not shout." Camus discovers this need for self-control and finds the leading themes of his art by debating his favorite authors, like Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Gide, and Jean Grenier. He describes the heartless actualities of nature, poverty, aging, and death, and finally resolves "to determine what is false and what is true in each of our actions."

The introduction by Paul Viallaneix interprets Camus' mature writings in the light of his juvenilia and finds that his symbolic power, contradictions, ambiguities, and sincerity yield more truth than any of his dabblings in philosophy or images of commitment. But nothing in this introduction so illumines Camus' work as Camus' admission of struggling with sentimentality and self-control.

—JAMES SLOAN ALLEN



"Of course alterations will take a little time,
Can you pick it up the latter part of next year?"

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Trade Winds

by William Cole

Old Man Dazzled by Love

Robert Graves must hold the world record for editions of collected poems. His *New Collected Poems* (Doubleday, January 7, $10) will mark the sixth time that he's pulled together what he considers his best. At eighty, he's an old man dazzled by love. Almost all the new poems in the collection are love poems, many of them playful, even kittenish: he's having a good time. Here's "The Strayed Message":

Characteristic, nevertheless strange:
Something went badly wrong at the Exchange,
And my private message to you, in full detail,
Got broadcast over eleven frequencies
With the usual, though disquieting, consequences
Of a torrential amatory fan mail

Note: Readers who, on my recommendation, got a copy of Ted Kooser's *A Local Habitation and a Name* will want to know that a new book by my favorite young American poet, titled *Not Coming To Be Barked At*, is now available from Pentagram Press, P.O. Box 11609, Milwaukee, Wis. 53211, for $3.00 plus twenty-five cents postage.

The Literary Seen

This is a self-portrait of Wilfrid Sheed. The resemblance is slight, as are many of those in *Self-Portraits: Book People Picture Themselves*, collected by Burt Britton (Random House, just out; $12.50, cloth; $6.95, paper.) Britton is a book lover whose work (at New York's Strand Book Store) puts him in contact with many writers. His obsession for the past five years has been to get self-portraits or self-caricatures of people he admires, "to try to reach, if possible, everyone who had ever given me *anything*, a poem, a story, a novel, a line even—what I call a gift." More than 600 writers (and some artists and photographers) have limned (what a word!) themselves in this whizzer of a book: Mailer, Updike, Lowell, Bellow, Roth, Baldwin, Jones, Capote, Styron, Malamud, Sendak, Ungerer, Gorey . . . on and on. When asked to draw impressions of themselves, even the most serious writers responded with graphics of humor and self-deprecation. Carlos Fuentes included his wife and three plump children. Three writers, surprisingly, drew just a hand (Paul Theroux, Rosalyn Drexler, and Elizabeth Bishop). Renata Adler put down that she had traced Harold Rosenberg's self-caricature, "leaving out the moustache and adding bangs." The work of the graphic artists in the book is indeed art. It's a high-spirited book, one about which it can be said—and how rarely!—"*This* has never been done before!"

Humo(u)r

Who are the greatest English humorists? J. B. Priestley says Chaucer, Shakespeare, Dickens, and Austen in his illustrated survey *English Humour* (Stein & Day, just published, $16.95). Somehow I can't think of all of them as humorists; although, goodness knows, each has his moments. But are they as funny as Lear, Carroll, Gilbert? As P. G. Wodehouse? More profound, certainly, but where's the audible giggle? Wodehouse, Priestley says, is just a grown-up schoolboy. Ah, yes, but the funniest boy in class. There are some quotable gems in the book, such as Priestley's favorite stage direction, from George Canning's *The Rovers*: "Several soldiers cross the stage wearily, as if returning from the Thirty Years' War." There are long and proper appreciations of Waugh, Nancy Mitford, and J. B. Morton ("Beachcomber"), who is little known in this country. Priestley is properly appreciative of the great *The Diary of a Nobody*, by George and Weedon Grossmith, and quotes from his own discovery, *The Diary of Thomas Turner*—by an eighteenth-century Sussex grocer who speaks of his mother-in-law as "having a very great volubility of tongue for invective, and especially if I am the subject." But Priestley skimps on Hilaire Belloc and A.P. Herbert, and nowhere did I see a mention of Thomas Hood, C. S. Calverley, or Saki.

Speaking of humor, here's a *really* unfunny book. *Titters: The First Collection of Humor by Women*, edited by Deanne Stillman and Anne Beatts (Macmillan, just published; $14.95, cloth; $7.95, paperback). I deplore the title; I deplore the subtitle, since I have an earlier collection of women's humor in my library (also published by Macmillan); and I deplore the contents, which resemble an edition of *The National Lampoon* on a bad-taste kick. If you can see humor in a double mastectomy, you'll like it. The only woman who appears in both collections of humor is Phyllis McGinley, and she must be surprised to find herself in such a slag heap of vulgarity. She could sue.

Wrapped Together

That arbiter of excellence, *The New Yorker*, has come up with three extraordinarily good new cartoonists in recent years, and each has a book this season. All three wrapped together would make a superb present for anyone with a sense of humor. There's Edward Koren, he of the scratchy, weedy line, with *Do You Want to Talk About It?* (Pantheon, $7.95); William Hamilton, who's concerned with suburbanites, dinner parties, and would-be with-it types in *Husbands, Wives and Live-togethers* (Putnam's, $7.95); and George Booth, whose characters are raffish and Pricelike, with his sloppy dogs and decrepit humans in *Rehearsal's Off!* (Dodd, Mead, $7.95). ◉

Answer to Middleton Double-Crostic No. 112

Edmund Van Deusen: Astrogenetics

Knowledge of the Ice Age has not altered the faith of those who believe in biblical signs; no right-thinking yogi would ever buy a biofeedback machine. And even astrology . . . has had no trouble surviving the revelation that the stars are something other than lanterns hanging from the vault of the sky.

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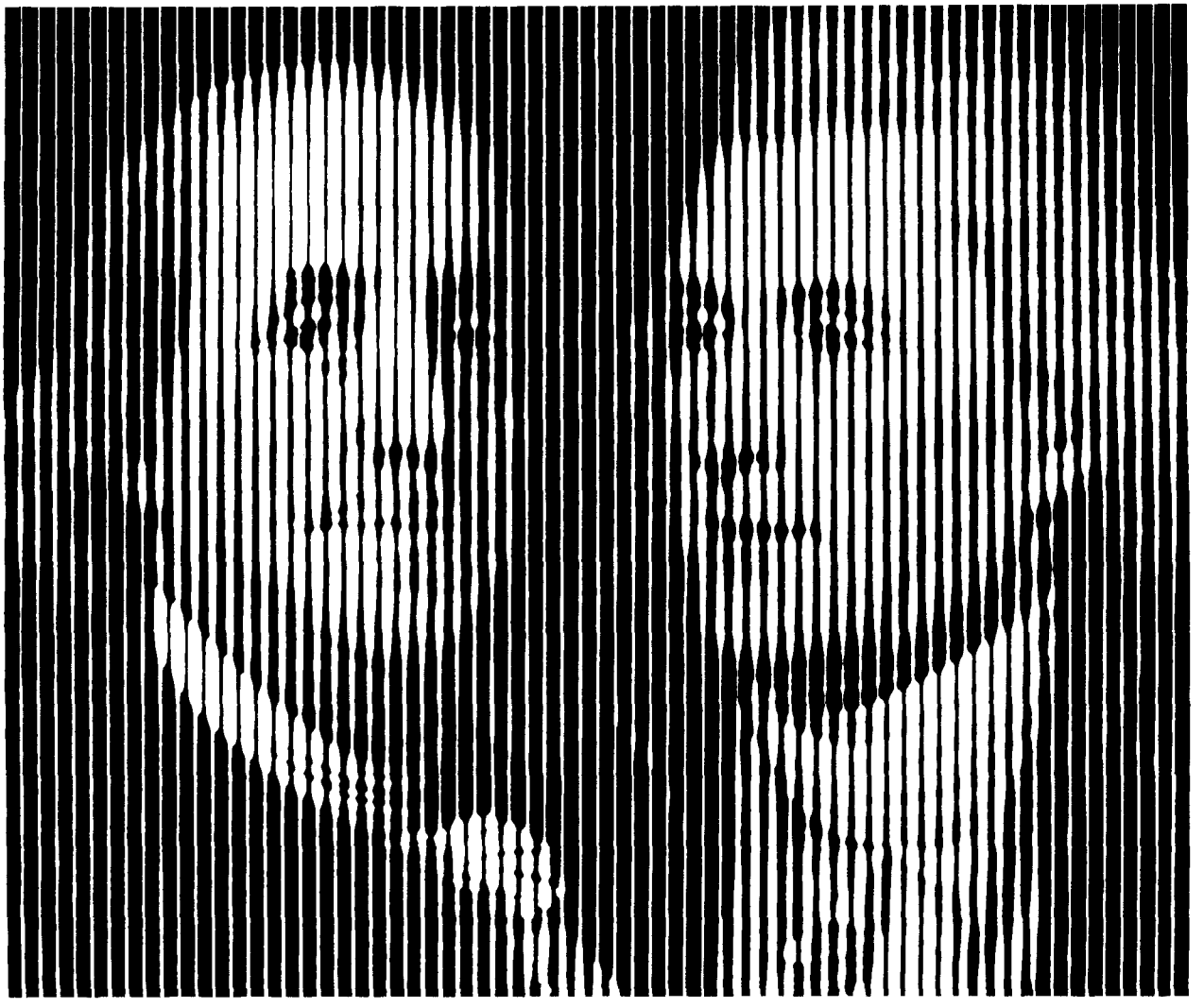

THE WORLD OF

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The American Revolution Bicentennial Administration exhibition "The World of Franklin and Jefferson" was designed by the office of Charles and Ray Eames with the cooperation of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York through a grant from the IBM Corporation

Los Angeles County Museum of Art

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Artsletter

THE 5 PERCENT SOLUTION

California now has a resale royalty law that requires the seller of a painting to pay its creator 5 percent of the proceeds. Similar legislation is on the books in Europe, but California is the first state to adopt the practice here. The new law applies only to sales in excess of $1,000. Assuming the sale represents a capital gain for the seller, he is obliged to inform the artist and pay him 5 percent of the gross sale price. If the artist cannot be located within ninety days, the California Arts Council gets the money and holds it for up to seven years while attempting to locate the artist. After that the money goes into the Council's general budget. Assemblyman Alan Sieroty, of Santa Monica, who introduced and fought for the legislation, says: "While the composer of a musical composition, the screenwriter of a film, and the author of a book, play, or television show retain a residual interest, the visual artist is discriminated against in this regard." At least in California, that's no longer the case.

BERGMAN IN BAVARIA

Earlier this year, film director Ingmar Bergman went into self-imposed exile in the aftermath of charges (since withdrawn) that he had evaded paying income taxes in his native Sweden. Bergman's first thought was to settle in Paris, the classic venue for exiled artists, and he had even gone to the trouble of finding an apartment there. "But then," he told a reporter in Germany, "I visited Munich with my wife in order to organize the shooting of my next film. We went to the theater, the opera, and concerts, enjoyed ourselves tremendously, and immediately felt at home. Rarely have I found such intensity in the cultural life of a city." The upshot is that Bergman has decided to hang his hat in Munich rather than Paris.

The film he is making there deals with events in Berlin during the course of a week in November 1923, when one U.S. dollar bought 4,500 million German marks. On its completion, early next year, Bergman may turn his attention to opera again. He has already had some exploratory meetings with August Everding, the new director of Munich's flourishing opera house. Our suggestion: Richard Strauss's "Ariadne"—with a film to follow.

FACE-LIFT AT THE COMÉDIE

'Tis the season for reopenings. First came Lincoln Center's Avery Fisher Hall, which went back into service in October with a bright new decor and a bright new sound. Now it's the turn of the Salle Richelieu, home base of the Comédie Française, which has just reopened after a $13 million renovation that kept the historic theater dark for more than two years. Unlike Fisher Hall, which is a mere stripling of fourteen years, the Richelieu dates back to 1790. In its pre-restoration state, it had lots of character but minimal comfort. Now the old place has undergone a head-to-toe refurbishing. Seating capacity has been reduced from 1,111 to 892 (oh, the joys of state subsidy), a new ventilation system has been installed, and the theater has been thoroughly soundproofed (in the old days, street noises would sometimes add an unwelcome obbligato to Phèdre's laments). But the greatest changes have been made backstage. There are now luxurious dressing rooms, newly equipped workshops, computer-controlled lighting panels, and the latest in sound-effect and scene-shifting gear.

NO SKELETONS

The diaries of Cosima Wagner, long-lived widow of composer Richard, are now finally being published in Germany, and critics there are wondering why they were kept under wraps for nearly a century. They reveal no skeletons in the Wagner family closet, though the familiar Wagner prejudices—against the French, the Catholics, the Jews—are on prominent display. Freudians will have a field day interpreting Cosima's detailed notes on her and Richard's dreams, and future Wagner biographers will find the daily entries invaluable as an ongoing record of the composer's life and thoughts. An English translation will be published here by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. —ROLAND GELATT

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Shinto: A Secret World

by Katharine Kuh

THE Shinto exhibition currently on view until early January at the Seattle Art Museum is a historic and illuminating, if curiously confusing, event. I say historic because it is the first survey of this controversial material to be seen in the United States; illuminating because of its strange, recessive radiance; and confusing because as yet there is so little definitive scholarship on the subject, even in Japan. The more one looks, the more one asks: what is Shinto art? Is it Japan's purest form of indigenous expression, or is it an indigestible mélange of imported Buddhist and native images? Is it more contained, didactic, and schematic than Buddhist art, or is it freer and closer to nature?

Called "Shinto Arts: Nature, Gods, and Man in Japan," the exhibition, which was organized by New York's Japan House Gallery where it made its debut this fall, is accompanied by an enlightening catalog, the only survey published in English. Moreover, for the first time many of these sacred works have been pried loose from their Japanese shrines and allowed to travel, to be photographed, and to be studied intensively. As Rand Castile, director of Japan House Gallery, says, "We have tried to create a situation in which definitions could be attempted." Due to the extraordinary sanctity of the works involved, to the complicated philosophy of Shintoism, and to its vast pantheon of deities (known as *kami* and numbering around 800,000), this art has rarely been revealed to the outside world. It is an elusive, closed domain.

According to Yasujima Hisashi, Japan's Commissioner for Cultural Affairs, "The arts of Shinto have developed as a unique expression of the profound interaction between native Japanese spiritual beliefs and the Buddhist religion," an opinion with which the distinguished scholar Kageyama Haruki agrees. Largely responsible for both the exhibition and the splendid catalog, Dr. Haruki, former chief curator of Kyoto's National Museum, feels the term Shinto "refers primarily to subject matter" rather than to stylistic characteristics, a definition clearly at odds with more orthodox attitudes toward art. For example, a superb bronze sculpture called "Statue of Zaō Gongen" is considered Shinto solely because the image represents a specific *kami*, in this case a divinity committed to warding off evil. Visually, however, the deity is so close to certain Buddhist counterparts as to be inseparable. One thinks immediately of menacing guardian figures that pervade Buddhist temples in both China and Japan. What makes the thesis perplexing is the idea that art can be defined in non-visual terms, that it can depend almost entirely on superimposed beliefs. By renaming a Rembrandt painting, is it possible to change its content? Must we be conversant with the ins and outs of an elaborate theological maze in order to accept certain works as Shinto and not as Buddhist, even though what we see suggests otherwise?

Nevertheless, the consensus among scholars indicates that Shinto art is an almost indivisible union of native Japanese ideologies and later imported Buddhist images, a mixture both provocative and puzzling. In its pre-Buddhist days, Shintoism produced artifacts rather than art. Except for such symbolic objects as mirrors, swords, and jewels, readily recognizable forms were avoided, especially those of human beings. Initially, even architecture was taboo, with worship taking place in natural surroundings among trees, waterfalls, or mountains, each of which was venerated as a repository of a *kami*'s spirit. To this day the Japanese retain a reverential communion with the natural world, as evidenced by their ritualistic deference to gardens, rocks, flowers, and trees.

THE classic example of a man-made Shinto compound is located at Ise, though originally even there the shrines were probably little more than enclosures of trees or rocks. Later, during the sixth or seventh century, after the introduction of Buddhism, a simple wooden structure recalling a granary (appropriate in an agricultural society) was erected and preserved by periodic rebuilding every twenty years. The facsimile we now see at Ise is a living testament to the strength of Shintoism; for almost thirteen centuries this architectural rebirth has taken place, the latest in 1973. Structures conceived as havens for *kami* thus remain unblemished, forever restored to their pristine origins. Even today a strange serenity at Ise suggests how deeply Shintoism depends on harmonious relationships between man and nature, a fact belied by the frenetic urbanization of modern Japan. To find any semblance of medi-

Statue of Zaō Gongen—"Art rarely revealed to the outside world."

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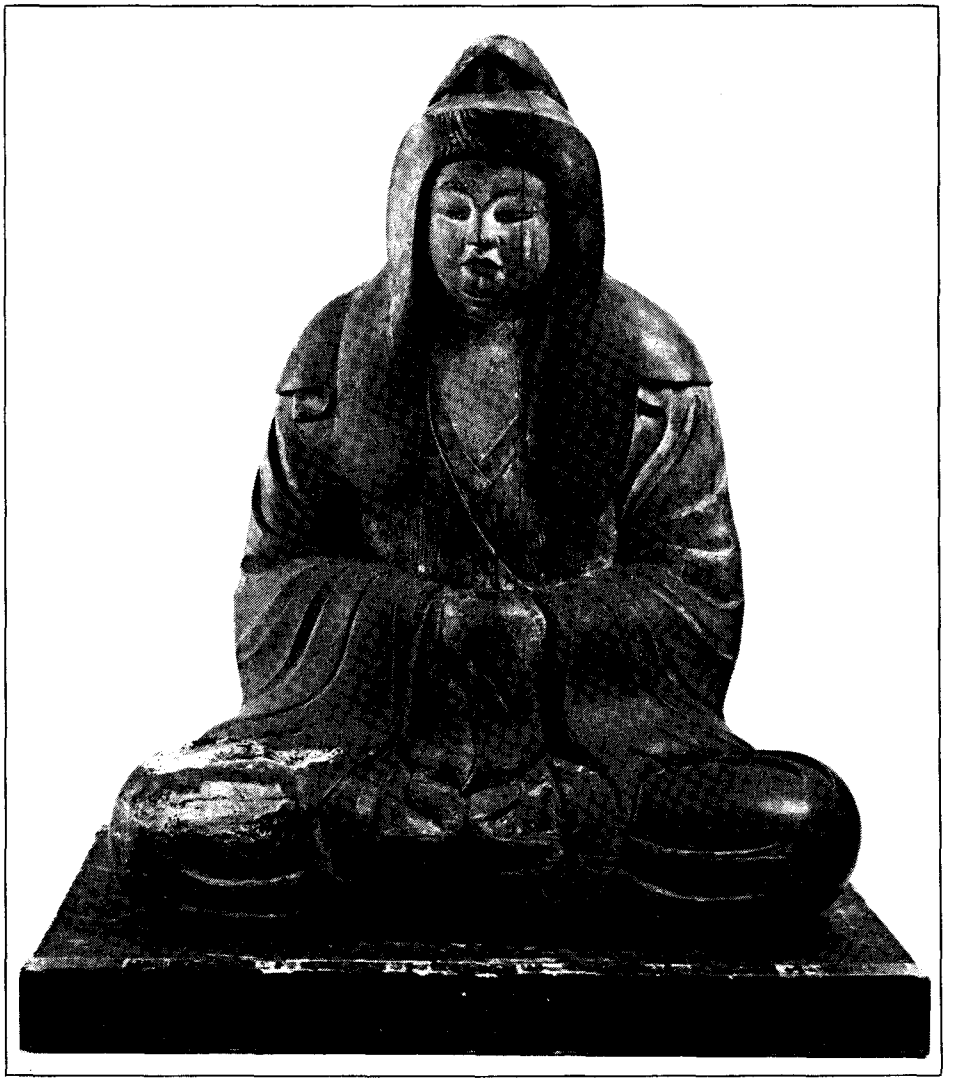
tative quiet in the traffic, pollution, and crowds of present-day Tokyo or Osaka would require a triumph of spirit over matter; yet Shintoism remains strong in Japan. I recall a village not far from Takamatsu on the island of Shikoku where each tiny outdoor shrine is enlivened by modest stone carvings, small *torii* (sacred gateways), and growing plants, all informally arranged to offer solace and silence. These intimate places of worship, embodying the spirit of a local or an ancestral deity, preserve legendary traditions less related to tangible than to numinous forces.

In Shinto art three symbols take precedence—the mirror, the sword, and the jewel. The last two are not surprising in a society often dominated by a militaristic aristocracy. The source of the mirror, however, is less easily pinpointed. Commonly depicted as round, the implement assumes multiple meanings. One sees oneself in it; one sees others; it is a source of light, a prototype of sun, moon, and earth, a virtual epitome of the universe. Above all, it eventually became the emblem of the sun goddess, a supreme deity in the Shinto pantheon. As might be expected, the mirror is prominent in several works on view, most of them scroll hangings known as mandalas. Since the word "mandala" means "scheme" or "layout," these religious paintings closely follow certain accepted diagrammatic canons.

Images of sacred Shinto mirrors mingle with Buddhist deities and indigenous *kami* to confuse and yet fascinate the viewer. Slowly one begins to differentiate between the two traditions. Buddhist gods are hieratic and remote while Shinto *kami*, often more relaxed, suggest at times individualized portraits, especially when figures are arrayed in handsome costumes of contemporary court society. Everywhere Shinto devotion to nature mellows what might otherwise have been strictly conventionalized compositions. I recall a mandala featuring a rigid lineup of stylized Buddhist deities arranged within the confines of a large mirror and irrationally juxtaposed with a nocturnal scene of mountains. The landscape is pure Shinto, suggesting early worship at outdoor sites. A deep-seated conviction that important natural phenomena embody the spirits of specific *kami* persisted even when simulated (painted or sculpted) images were substituted for real ones.

In a scroll from the fourteenth century, the division between Shinto and Buddhist iconography again turns a single painting into two separate events, both of them



Ninth-century female deity—"Only the most consummate artist could have produced such vitality in so circumscribed a format."

visually compatible only because of a lyrical landscape in the background. Calligraphic clouds, mountains, and autumn foliage combine in a touching evocation. All the rules of composition that the Western world has postulated are here negated and yet, though the central figures from two different cultures are totally unrelated in scale, placement, and psychological content, the painting works, possibly due to the intensity of its supernatural involvement.

In addition to mandalas, the exhibit includes various narrative scrolls, also scenes of festivals and pilgrimages as well as detailed representations of architectural shrine compounds, the last sometimes used as models for periodic rebuilding. What gives the survey an added dimension are the invaluable historical and social insights these later genre-like works provide. One sees a meticulously depicted panorama of a religious festival from start to finish, each small figure, among the myriads attending, involved in some form of daily occupation. A pilgrimage mandala records participants bathing in a river, visiting a teahouse, crossing a bridge, shooting arrows, sweeping up a courtyard, cooking, drinking, gossiping. In most of these folk paintings, man and nature are united in a rhythmic balance somewhat at variance with the conflicting relationships found in the more esoteric scrolls devoted to interaction between Shinto and Buddhist deities. In the latter, human images representing gods (and this is especially true of the Buddhist tradition) are isolated from both landscape and routine daily experiences; Shintoism, however, was less willing to separate its gods from the symbols in nature that doubled for them. And always it would seem that the more sanctified the message, the more limited its freedom of expression.

The exhibition is demanding of and

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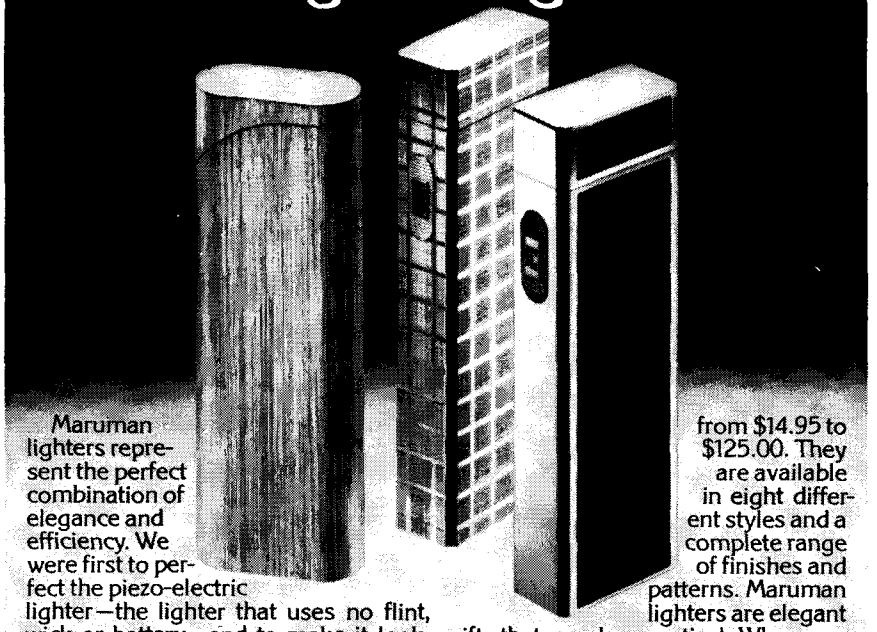

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alien to Western eyes. In addition it requires patience, for the works are often fugitive and understated. Take, for instance, a fourteenth-century scroll showing a deity dressed as a priest and towering over two less important officials, all of them arranged in a bare, geometric interior. Arranged, by the way, is the right word, for very little is left to chance in Shinto art. In this case the god takes on added stature not alone because of his size but even more because of his shadow, which is seen quivering on an adjacent wall, almost as if the spirit, the nonmaterialistic essence of the deity, were reincarnated. This second presence is so tremulous as to be nearly nonexistent.

A seated male and female deity of the ninth century are, according to the catalog, "the most ancient surviving examples of Shinto statuary portraying *kami* in courtly attire." Polychromed and still retaining vestiges of color, they are each single wood-block carvings notable for their restraint and yet portraitlike fidelity. From highly developed Buddhist skills came this technique that created sculpture from one unhollowed slab of wood. Crisp linear definition of features and drapery acts as a foil for the solidity of the figures. Only the most consummate artist could have produced such vitality in so circumscribed a format.

There are times when Shinto sculpture is lifted bodily from painted compositions, thus becoming three-dimensional extensions of mandalas. Typical is a fantastic bronze deer (sacred messenger of the *kami*) standing on what appear to be coiling clouds carved from wood. A bronze *sadiki* branch affixed to the deer's saddle supports a mirror decorated with five plaques. Nothing could be more hypnotic that this non-sculptural assemblage, each section of which was cast or carved separately, and each slightest detail of which is immersed in occult mythology. Once again accepted aesthetic rules are ignored. What counts is the total commitment to a realm of arcane piety. Whether all these disparate elements, which are arranged vertically, lend themselves to three-dimensional handling is irrelevant; the fact remains that together they create a cult object of extraordinary power.

A word about the draftsmanship, which throughout the exhibition is as pure as it is luminous, though sometimes dimmed by serious losses. Color and line are often blurred, faded; the paper and silk of scrolls are cracked; but what remains is more than enough to introduce us to an ineffable secret world. ◉

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The Movies

Murder in the Reverential Degree

by Judith Crist

THERE are, as filmmakers have demonstrated over the years, countless ways to kill a classic. *The Last Tycoon,* F. Scott Fitzgerald's unfinished Hollywood novel, has been killed with reverence.

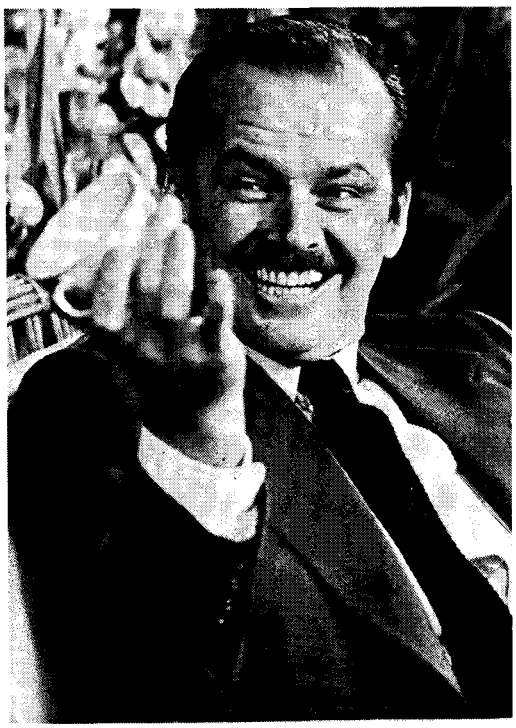
This long-awaited, much-fanfared film arrives with almost awesome cachet: produced by Sam Spiegel, whose hallmark has been intelligence and taste; directed by Elia Kazan, a man of remarkable accomplishment on stage and screen; written by Harold Pinter, the British playwright, who has earned well-deserved praise for his work in film. And in the title role we have Robert de Niro, one of the most versatile of the newer stars. Among them, they have made a faithful, lavish, and bloodless transcription to film of Fitzgerald's literary fragment and reduced what has endured as an insightful study of a man and an industry into an insipid little love story. So reverential have all concerned been in the transition that all the flaws of Fitzgerald's work arrive intact for screen magnification, with the life-giving prose and the projected polishing carefully wiped away. They offer, in fact, further proof that Fitzgerald's novels are no better movie material than those scripts the novelist himself turned out during his various screenwriting sojourns in Hollywood.

The moviemakers' reference to a "not quite completed final draft" exaggerates the actuality of *The Last Tycoon.* Published in 1941, a year after the novelist's death, it is supplemented not only by Edmund Wilson's foreword but also by a synopsis of the second half, together with an outline of the five "acts" the writer projected (the manuscript covers only seventeen of thirty "episodes" therein), plus annotations. Wilson noted that it showed that the writer had "acquired a firm grasp on his theme, but has not yet brought it finally into focus." The first half and the outline make it clear that Fitzgerald's concern was with the complexities of the moviemaking world in which Monroe Stahr, a brilliant erstwhile *wunderkind* of the industry, becomes an anachronism, his sensitivity and taste and personal involvements of no further use in a venal factory system. Even unfinished, the portrait of Stahr (usually recognized as a romanticized version of Irving Thalberg mixed with much of the mature Fitzgerald) has stood as probably the most astute creation of a movie producer in literary history, fascinating in his professional strengths and personal weaknesses.

The Pinter screenplay is based on Fitzgerald's second "act," concentrating almost exclusively on Stahr's encounter with Kathleen, a reminder of his dead actress wife, and their brief romance before her sudden marriage. His busy life at the studio—coping with a temperamental star, consoling an impotent leading man, teaching a British writer about the visuals of movies, looking at rushes, having physicals to indicate that he is not a well man and having business conferences to indicate that he is a shrewd executive—is simply background to his involvement with the woman. His business partner's daughter, Cecilia, Fitzgerald's first-person narrator and observer, is reduced to a girlish busybody popping in and out of offices and making adolescent passes at Stahr. "Businessmen" hover on the periphery, all too obviously waiting in the wings to supply the abrupt, illogical hatchet-job ending.

For all the bits and pieces of late-Thirties studio atmosphere—made somehow anachronistic by now-middle-aged stars of that period in various roles, underlined by their watching black-and-white film rushes in a Technicolor "reality"—there is little freshness in the movie-making atmosphere. Fitzgerald's perceptions and Hollywood legendry have, after all, become close to cliché in the various Hollywood-on-Hollywood films of the Fifties and Sixties, with the jealous moneymen, the unhappy stars, the denigrated writers almost stock characters. And with "integrity," Pinter has done nothing to refurbish the material or the dialogue, his invention of scenes for the rushes proving particularly witless and uninspired. It becomes obvious that he is best served as screenwriter by a stylish director, most notably Joseph Losey in *The Servant, Accident,* and *The Go-Between.*

De Niro is at best adequate as the slight, brooding producer and moonstruck lover, never quite encompassing the inner fire and outer strength that gave Stahr such literary distinction. On the other hand, there is small inspiration from Ingrid Boulting, a round-faced large-eyed high-fashion model making her film debut as Kathleen, who is more adept at stripping than speaking; she is matched in flat performance by Theresa Russell, another debutante, albeit a Lee Strasberg alumna, whose Cecilia is teary-eyed vapidity. On the professional side, it's "hey, there" time as actors are wasted on abortive bits, trite bits at that—Jeanne Moreau as a *grande dame* star; Robert Mitchum as Stahr's partner; John Carradine as a tour guide; Ray Milland as a New York lawyer; Tony Curtis as, inevitably, Tony Curtis, albeit named Rodriguez; Dana Andrews as a hack director; Donald Pleasence as a British writer. In the aridity of the screenplay and the unfocused plotting, it is small wonder that when at last Jack Nicholson appears for a much too small cameo as a writers' union organizer (and little is done to give meaning to the political backgrounds or significances of the time), the screen lights up—all too briefly, alas, and even Nicholson is reduced to schtick. But the effect of his appearance points up the



Jack Nicholson in The Last Tycoon—*"The screen lights up—all too briefly."*

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lackluster quality of the other performances, the total absence of charisma and of conviction. And for this Kazan and Spiegel must be held responsible.

Their prime failure, however, is their reverence, their undertaking of the roles of literary executors rather than of filmmakers. These men, teamed so triumphantly (albeit in 1954) in *On the Waterfront*, certainly are closer to the material than Fitzgerald was himself, and they had every right to become engaged. Admittedly, if they had taken liberties, the purists would have been up in arms. As John Schlesinger and Robert Evans observed at a recent film discussion (Schlesinger with *Far from the Madding Crowd* and *The Day of the Locust* in his experience, and Evans with *Locust* and *The Great Gatsby* in his), you can't win with a classic—or, we'll add, with an unfinished novel. Spiegel, Kazan, and Pinter have taken no gamble—and what a dull and dreary game that is!

PRODUCERS Robert F. Blumofe and Harold Leventhal, director Hal Ashby, and screenwriter Robert Getchell have taken a huge gamble and won gloriously with *Bound for Glory*, an exquisite film about the early career of Woody Guthrie. Based on the folksinger's 1943 autobiography, the film covers his artistic and social coming-of-age in his young manhood as the twenty-four-year-old father of two in the Depression-ravaged dust-bowl town of Pampas, Tex. In careful detail we are given the portrait of the loving but footloose young householder who finally takes to the road to find a better life for his family in that promising land of California. We learn of his encounters with the *Grapes of Wrath* world of migrants; his consciousness-raising at the hands of a radio entertainer who visits the migrant camps; his professional, political, and romantic involvements; and, finally, his decision to dedicate himself to the "folks" he has come to know and value.

The gamble is in the leisurely pace and probing minutiae of persons and places in this two-hour-and-twenty-seven-minute film—and it is a risk that pays off in providing not only an overwhelming encounter with a human being of extraordinary quality but also a stunning re-creation of a time in our history that has touched us all. Most important, we are given the gifts of talented people who, for once, have time and space in which to fulfill, rather than indulge, themselves. And the talents are remarkable. This is no simple screen biography; it is, I would say, the finest offering of Americana during this Bicentennial year. And in purely cinematic terms, it is another step in the direction of Stanley Kubrick's *Barry Lyndon*, a film paced to the intelligence and the aesthetic rather than the gut and the eye.

David Carradine revitalizes a dormant Kung-fu career with his portrait of Guthrie, making him a man of simplicity and sensitivity, with the creativity and the art breaking through to the rugged surface in totally credible surges, his foibles as understandable as his innocence. Ashby, in a total change of pace from his *Harold and Maude*, *The Last Detail*, and *Shampoo*, keeps Carradine and the excellent supporting cast in sharp focus while never losing an awareness of the landscape in all its human and physical detail. Above all, Haskell Wexler's muted cinematography paradoxically makes a misted past a part of our present—for the men with heart and courage and faith in "the folks" are still, hopefully, among us.

The film ends with Guthrie's abandoning personal advancement and career opportunities to head east, before his remarriage and the birth of Arlo and his thirteen bedridden years of wasting away from Huntington's disease before his death in 1967. But it establishes the truth of legendry and the quality of a folk hero.

David Carradine (left) as Woody Guthrie—"An overwhelming encounter with a human being of extraordinary quality."

THE quality of fairy tales is sustained with charm, taste, and that *soupçon* of sophistication that the British customarily provide for such entertainments in *The Slipper and the Rose: The Story of Cinderella*. Directed by Bryan Forbes, who wrote the screenplay with Robert B. and Richard M. Sherman, this wonderfully lush, lilting, and lavish musical is all that children of all ages, including mine, would ask from a refurbished fairy tale, with some neat twists of plot and personality to refresh the legend and some imaginative and divertingly witty variations added. Freed from Disney strictures, the brothers Sherman have let loose with jolly and sweet tunes and some Gilbert & Sullivanish lyrics. Richard Chamberlain emerges as the ultimate singing charming prince, with Gemma Craven a lovely Cinderella, and there are endearingly good moments from Michael Hordern as the fuzzy king, Annette Crosbie as the harried fairy godmother, the late Dame Edith Evans as the dotty dowager queen, and Margaret Lockwood as the unregenerate stepmother. Julie Harris, who costumed Forbes's *The Wrong Box*, outdoes herself with fairy-tale clothing to match Raymond Simm's luscious palaces. It's a treat for the eye and the ear—and the young in heart.

And for an entirely different kind of entertainment, there's *Carrie*, Brian De Palma's new thriller, a fitting follow-up on *Obsession*. This time it's a tidy bit of horror built around a high-school prom, with Sissy Spacek simply stunning as a victimized teenager who turns to telekenesis for vengeance, and with Piper Laurie making a radiant return to film as her religiously fanatic mother. De Palma's skills grow by the film and flower in this triumphant exercise in gooseflesh-and-ghastlies. ◉

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Recordings

Solti's "Die Meistersinger" Provides a Benchmark

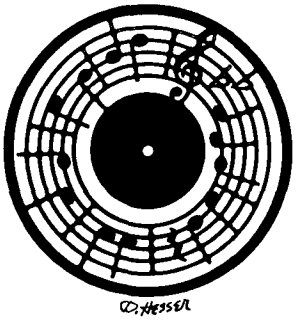
THE collaborators whose version of Wagner's *Ring* set a new standard for studio recordings of opera have returned to the Viennese scene of their triumph, this time to come away with a complete *Meistersinger* by which all others of the future will be measured. Participating are Sir Georg Solti, the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, and London-Decca's technicians (minus John Culshaw, now engaged in other work). They have surrounded an always good, and sometimes excellent, cast of singers with the kind and quality of sound of which they alone, working in the famous Sofiensaal, are capable (London OSA 1512).

No recording of *Die Meistersinger* can be better than its Hans Sachs, and Solti has one in Norman Bailey who is typical of the venture at its best: he is always good and sometimes excellent. Listening to him on discs throws more than a little light on the performances of the part he has recently been giving "live" in New York. In certain dynamic ranges and conditions of dramatic stress—as in Act 1, the serenade of Act 2, and the climaxing moments of Act 3—Bailey's sound tends to be muffled, sometimes quavery. But the conception he projects is one of such warmth and appeal, that other considerations are subordinate.

Of other recent versions, only Herbert von Karajan's (made in Dresden, Angel SEL 3776) has comparable finesse and Wagnerian authority. In René Kollo, Solti has the same Walther von Stolzing as Karajan—a Kollo ten years older, bigger in sound, somewhat more expressive, and occasionally untidy in technical detail. Julia Hamari is a variable but more than acceptable Eva, Kurt Moll superb as her father, Veit Pogner. An excellent Beckmesser (Bernd Weikl) and David (Adolf Dallapozza, of all things) come and go as Wagner proposes and Solti disposes. The latter is, of course, the towering eminence: urgent in the prologue, brooding in the prelude to Act 3, constantly surprising in relevant detail and, above all, capable of that touch of *zartlichkeit* (tenderness) that makes the whole Wagnerian world kin.

However, it is another, lesser Solti who is responsible for a concurrent recording of *Carmen* (London OSA 13115). Whereas he felt obliged to go to Vienna for an orchestra and chorus suitable for Wagner, he has settled for the London Philharmonic, the John Alldis Choir, and a group of French sub-principals (very welcome because the spoken text is used) as sufficient for Bizet. In totality, it is likely to become famous as the Placido Domingo *Carmen*, for the superb Spanish-descended tenor delivers a now famous impersonation of Don José that makes the work's tragedy, not the death of Carmen, but the wasted life and degradation that befell the dragoon. Tatiana Troyanos has the voice to become a great Carmen, but she is not yet even a good one, dramatically, with a tranquilizing effect on episodes (such as the Card Scene) that should be impassioned. Solti does, eventually, urge her into a frenzied death scene, but that is almost too much and certainly too late. Kiri Te Kanawa sings a delicate Micaëla, José Van Dam a hearty Escamillo. Much of the orchestral detail is, as one expects of Solti, meticulous; but one also expects from him a kind of artistic commitment that this version does not convey.

Troyanos has a conspicuous part in a recent recording of Béla Bartók's *Bluebeard's Castle*, with which Columbia adds diversity to generosity in the growing expansion of its operatic catalog (M 34217). She is as capable of a fine Judith as any contemporary mezzo; but neither Pierre Boulez as conductor nor Siegmund Nimsgern as Bluebeard realizes as much of the brooding and mystery in this score as are contained in the version on London, conducted by the late Istvan Kertesz.



Columbia is also responsible (by way of Melodiya/Columbia M3 33588) for the first appearance in this country of Dimitri Kabalevsky's treatment of Romain Rolland's *Colas Breugnon*—the opera, that is, which follows the long-popular overture (of which even Toscanini made a recording). Curiously, germinal segments of that overture, brief though it is, keep returning in the unfolding of the tale of a French wood-carver talented enough to win the admiration of a duke who rules the fifteenth-century realm where he works, and bold enough to defy him in the name of his fellow peasants. Of Frenchness there is not much in the Russian text and its treatment, but Kabalevsky is unquestionably a man with a talent for the theater, who eventually writes a Mussorgsky-tinged death scene of considerable power (for Colas, performed by Leonid Boldin, to sing as his wife, Jacqueline, expires). For those with a specialized interest, it may be mentioned that this is Kabalevsky's revision, in 1968, of a work first performed in 1930. Georgi Zhemchuzhin is both energetic and painstaking as conductor of a production credited to the Moscow Musical Theater of Stanislavsky and Nemirovich-Danchenko. Very good sound also.

Finally, the charm of two cities, Paris and Vienna, is artfully blended in the Pathé-Connoisseur recording (CS2/2106) of *Valses de Vienne*, derived from a Viennese musical pastry whipped up in 1930 by Erich-Wolfgang Korngold and Julius Bittner from the huge stock of non-theatrical goodies by the prolific Johann Strauss, Jr. The familiar tale of Strauss, Sr.'s endeavor to keep Strauss, Jr. from pursuing the family musical inclination serves here again (as it does in *The Great Waltz*). But it is given a new accent, literally, in this French adaptation, beautifully conducted by Jean Doussard and admirably performed by a company of compatriots headed by Mady Mesplé. This is no pedestrian, parade-ground Strauss, if only for the interpolations of *Tales from the Vienna Woods* and *On the Beautiful Blue Danube* in which Mesplé's light, lovely, lyric sound displays a glittering top with which she deftly delivers, among other things, a whistle-clear A flat (above "high" C). Bernard Sinclair is a performer of quality as Strauss Jr. —IRVING KOLODIN

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Recordings

Recommended This Year

Instrumental

Borodin: String Quartet No. 1 in A Major (Melodiya/Columbia). The seldom heard predecessor of the D Major, well played by the Soviet quartet named for the composer.

Brahms: Symphony No. 1 in C Minor (RCA). A good effort by James Levine with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra.

Carter: Brass Quintet, etc. (Odyssey). Virtuoso execution by the American Brass Quintet of a challenging Carter concept.

Cherubini: String Quartets (DG Archiv). The Italian-born "French" contemporary of Beethoven is well represented by the Melos Quartet of Stuttgart.

***Concert of the Century** (Columbia). A brilliant reproduction ("live") of the famous event last May whose participants, on behalf of a Carnegie Hall Endowment Fund, included Leonard Bernstein, Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, Mstislav Rostropovich, Isaac Stern, and—especially—Vladimir Horowitz.

Gershwin: Rhapsody in Blue (Columbia). Well-engineered combination of the composer as soloist (from a piano roll) and Michael Tilson Thomas conducting a studio orchestra.

Franck: Quintet (Connoisseur). Rare reminder of the pianistic excellence of the late Samson François, with the Bernède Quartet.

Granados: Spanish Dances, Op. 37 (Connoisseur). Gonsalvo Soriano wholly at home in Andalusia.

Khachaturian: Concerto (Odyssey). The great Jean-Pierre Rampal flits through the violin concerto as arranged for his flute by the composer.

Mahler: Symphony No. 2 (RCA). A version with a great cumulative impact under the direction of Leopold Stokowski (aged 93).

Shostakovich: Quartets Nos. 15 and 8 (L'Oiseau Lyre). The first is the composer's last, in this pairing by the Fitzwilliam ensemble of Warwick, England.

***Schumann: Concerto Without Orchestra; Scriabin: Sonata No. 5** (RCA). Splendid performances by Vladimir Horowitz, extracted from taped public appearances of the past year. The Schumann does not rate as high, musically, with me as it does with the performer.

Verdi: Ballet Music (London). Expert performances by the Cleveland Orchestra, under Lorin Maazel, of excerpts from *Don Carlo*, *Otello*, and *I Vespri Siciliani*.

** Not previously listed*

***Toscanini-Philadelphia Orchestra** (RCA). Long unavailable versions of Schubert's C Major symphony, Tchaikovsky's No. 6, Debussy's *Ibéria* and *La Mer*, also shorter works.

Vocal

Classical Barbra (Columbia). For those who missed a previous mention, the Streisand material includes Debussy's "Beau Soir," Fauré's "Après un Rêve," and Schumann's "Mondnacht." Anything else is unmentionable.

Montserrat Caballé: Music of Spain (London). The title says it all.

***Ives: Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau** (DG). The great baritone applies himself to nineteen songs of Charles Ives, ranging from "At the River" to "In Flanders Fields," with Heine's "Ich grolle nicht" and "Feldeinsamkeit" along the way. A fascinating demonstration of adaptability, in which the pianist is Michael Ponti.

Rachmaninoff: Songs (London). Superior collaboration by soprano Elisabeth Soederstrom and pianist Vladimir Ashkenazy.

Tchaikovsky: "Adieu forêts" (*Jeanne d'Arc*) and other operatic excerpts (Columbia). Mezzo Elena Obraztsova is a fine performer on this side of a pairing that finds her less at ease in Donizetti's "O mio Fernando" and Verdi's "O don fatale."

Opera

Bellini: I Capuleti e I Montecchi (Angel). Star-studded (Beverly Sills, Janet Baker, Nicolai Gedda) version, of uneven vocal quality, under the direction of Giuseppe Patané.

Gershwin: Porgy and Bess (London). Every bar of the Gershwin score scrupulously conducted by Lorin Maazel. Some of the singing is variable.

***Gluck: Janet Baker** (Philips). Excerpts from *Armide*, the two *Iphigénies*, *La Rencontre imprévue*, and of course *Orfeo ed Euridice*, with the favorite English mezzo accompanied by an orchestra directed by Raymond Leppard.

Haydn: La fedeltà premiata (Philips). The premiere operatic event of the year, historically as well as musically, this superb sequence of arias and ensembles directed by Antal Dorati will engender a new regard for Haydn as a theater composer.

***Moore: The Ballad of Baby Doe** (DG). A merited restoration to currency of a version of Moore's endearing score made in the Sixties. Of added interest is the sound of the voice of Beverly Sills (Baby Doe), singing the "Willow" song when she had quality to enjoy as well as fluency to admire. Walter Cassel (Horace Tabor) and Frances Bible (Mr. Tabor) are in the cast conducted by Emerson Buckley.

Mozart: Margaret Price (RCA). A prideful exhibition of the vocal mastery that has made the Welsh-born Price one of the most recent additions to the ranks of the world's best-known singers. *Don Giovanni*, *Le Nozze di Figaro*, and *Die Entführung* are among the operas represented.

Tchaikovsky: Pique Dame (Melodiya/Columbia). Prime example of the abilities of the Bolshoi Opera in a native specialty, with Vladimir Atlantov as a notable Herman, Galina Borisova as Pauline, and Mark Ermler conducting.

Wagner: The Rheingold (Angel). An addition to the previously issued *Siegfried* on the way to a complete English-language *Ring*. Norman Bailey is the Wotan, with Reginald Goodall conducting.

Miscellaneous

Barney Bigard: Clarinet Gumbo (RCA). Swift or suave, Bigard's clarinet playing is *sui generis*, especially in "Struttin' with Some Barbecue" with Dick Cary on trumpet.

Benny Carter: The King (Pablo). Milt Jackson, vibes, Joe Pass, guitar, and Tommy Flanagan on piano are among the courtiers who do royally well by Carter.

Pink Floyd: Wish You Were Here (Columbia). "Shine on You Crazy Diamonds," in all its alluring fantasy, is a prime item on this disc.

Cleo Laine: Born on a Friday (RCA). Persuasive efforts by Laine in such quiet matter as "Colors Ran," "Sunday," and "Do You Really Want Him?"

Zoot Sims: Soprano Sax (Pablo). Pianist Ray Bryant gives fine response to the driving sound of the Sims soprano sax in "Someday Sweetheart," "Wrap Your Troubles in Dreams," and "Willow Weep for Me."

Side by Side with Sondheim (RCA). An embracing vista of the composer-lyricist responsible for *Pacific Overtures*, *A Little Night Music*, and *Follies*. The talent is English, the results made to order for Sondheiming.

***Vaudeville** (Nonesuch). Joan Morris, mezzo, and William Bolcom, piano, are the collaborators in reminiscences of such performers as Eva Tanguay ("I Don't Care"), Nora Bayes ("Shine on Harvest Moon"), and Elsie Janis ("Smiles").

***Venuti, Joe: The Maestro and Friend** (Halcyon). As a jazz violinist, Joe Venuti has had few peers since he was collaborating with guitarist Eddie Lang and brass man Bix Beiderbecke in the Twenties. His fingers are all in order, his improvisational sense keen, in these duets with pianist Marion McPartland, whether the tune is "Dinah," "Sunny Side of the Street," or "How High the Moon." —I.K.

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Dance

The Joffrey: Today's "Hot" Ticket

by Walter Terry

THE Joffrey Ballet, one of the resident dance troupes at the City Center 55th Street Theater, wrapped up its twentieth year (it did its first modest tour in 1956) as one of America's great international companies with an October–November engagement at its home base. During the four-week stand, Robert Larkin, the ebullient press representative, was able to boast on more than one occasion, "We and *Chorus Line* are the hottest tickets in town!" There were good reasons. At the close of its anniversary year, "the Joffrey," as it is known worldwide, was in superb dance form. The repertory (with something for everybody) ranged from nineteenth-century romantic ballet through a psychedelic multimedia trip and a rock ballet to such Americana as Ruthanna Boris's *Cakewalk* and that most famous of all folk-ballet classics, Agnes de Mille's history-making *Rodeo*.

Rodeo (or "The Courting at Burnt Ranch"), in a staging by Miss de Mille's number one assistant, Vernon Lusby, joined the Joffrey roster of ballet for the first time this season. The production represented a loving restoration of the 1942 original as danced by the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo (when de Mille herself and Frederic Franklin were the leads) in the costumes of Kermit Love against Oliver Smith's settings. (Later presentations by various companies witnessed production changes and some choreographic simplifications, such as in the Champion Roper's tap-dance solo.) The Joffrey has Beatriz Rodriguez as the Cowgirl, in the same yellow dress worn when the role was first danced, and Russell Sultzbach gives us the full tap-dance treatment as the hero. Seymour Lipkin conducted the marvelous Aaron Copland score beautifully, and Thomas Skelton—the lighting wizard of dance—was a wiz with this *Rodeo*.

A deliciously complementary piece in the repertory is George Balanchine's *Square Dance* (from 1957 and premiered by the New York City Ballet in the same old City Center). It is, as all balletomanes know, a classical ballet done to the classical music of Arcangelo Corelli and Antonio Vivaldi, but with the orchestral ensemble onstage on a bandstand. It also has a real folk-dance caller (Elisha C. Keeler) relating the virtuosities and progressions of ballet to the figures of square dancing—a not unlikely conceit, since ballet evolved from court dances, which in turn had derived from peasant steps. Balanchine in his *Square Dance* simply reunited distant cousins. The Joffrey dances it brilliantly, and since the New York City Ballet itself now performs *Square Dance* without caller, without bandstand, and without square-dance formations, thus obliterating its initial form and purpose, it is good to have this minor masterpiece preserved.

The Joffrey males excelled in a revival of Gerald Arpino's virile, sports-oriented *Olympics*, and both males and females were as near faultless as dancers can be in Jerome Robbins's hypnotic *Moves*, performed in silence yet intensely musical in the clear but intricate phrasings of moving bodies. Arpino's new updating of the Orpheus myth, *Orpheus Times Light* (score by José Serebrier and a handsome setting by Willa Kim), finds Orpheus giving Eurydice short shrift as he engages in body tangles with male angels and Pluto. It is number two in a tawdry, tinsel trilogy by Arpino, and it is as tasteless as the first, *The Relativity of Icarus*. I don't even want to think about an upcoming third. Joffrey's own *Astarte*—an avant-garde, psychedelic affair from 1967—has not aged well, but almost everything else in the Joffrey repertory was worthy of a rousing twentieth-anniversary celebration.

While the Joffrey was playing, the Eliot Feld Ballet was spilling over from October into late November with a five-week season downtown at the New York Shakespeare Festival Public Theater. (It will make its uptown debut in March at the City Center.) The company, with several new faces and two distinguished guest artists, Birgit Keil and Vladimir Klos of the Stuttgart Ballet, was in fine form, although the novelty of the engagement, *Impromptu*, a solo by Feld to music of Albert Roussel for Miss Keil, was very much a minor piece, and the revival of Feld's *A Poem Forgotten* should have harkened to its title. Miss Keil, the foremost German ballerina of our day, was lovely, though one felt that she would have been quite as enchanting in an improvisation of her own. A word, incidentally, for designer Willa Kim's gentle wisp of a costume, which seemed to caress, rather than dress, the ballerina's body.

The Pennsylvania Ballet, directed by Barbara Weisberger (its founder) and Benjamin Harkarvy (its artistic boss), is in many respects the best of the non-New York-based companies. For its autumn engagement at the Brooklyn Academy of Music in the great old opera house, it was in top form, opening with a performance of Balanchine's *Concerto Barocco* that was in every way a model of taste, style, and accuracy accompanied by appropriate vitality. Michelle Lucci was especially distinguished in the chief role.

Of the novelties, immediately dismissable are Gene Hill Sagan's *Sweet Agony*, which depended on the voice of Jimi Hendrix to carry the "sweet" part of the title as prologue and epilogue, and on frenetic speed in between to conceal how bad the choreography really was; and Harkarvy's *Four Men Waiting*, in which agonized sweetness prevailed as the men and women, all paper-thin characters, simulated superficial emotions growing out of lostness and searching.

But the Pennsylvanians, dancing well at all times, brought us joy with Margo Sappington's *Under the Sun*, a colorful and lively, if rambling, work inspired by Alexander Calder mobiles. The ubiquitous Miss Kim was on hand to create knockout costumes, particularly for Miss Lucci as Corolla, and Robert Mitchell provided the flashy set designs for danced astral travels to music of Michael Kamen. Indeed, from this report it is clear that dance in New York, November–December, was pretty close to "A Willa Kim Festival." ◉

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Television

The Uncommon Commentary Of ABC's Howard K. Smith

by Karl E. Meyer

"WATCH the ABC News with Harry Reasoner and Barbara Walters!" shout the advertisements in all our better newspapers. Well, I have been watching. So have millions of others curious to see the first anchorwoman on a network news show. And many of us, I suspect, have been struck by a feature of the show that the newspaper ads unforgivably fail to mention—the superior commentary of Howard K. Smith.

Smith radiates old-fashioned Southern gallantry. I am sure it was not his intention to steal the show when Miss Walters made her much-heralded debut in October. Yet he all but did that. After the catchy freeze-frame shots of Walters and Reasoner, and after much coy backchat between that duo, Smith came on with a few sentient words about the presidential campaign, which he found conspicuously wanting in vision.

He said: "The campaign has been, in a word, banal. . . . The public has the feeling of being nibbled to death by ducks, not addressed by titans as should be the case in a contest to choose not only our President but the *ex officio* leader of a troubled Western civilization. The two men have but thirty days to dissolve the impression visibly growing but which we all dread to accept: neither has the stature for the job."

The viewer sat bolt upright. "Being nibbled to death by ducks"—how better to express the frustration so many of us felt during the late, unlamented campaign?

There is an aptness in Smith's emergence as perhaps the most consistently excellent television commentator. In a gesture rare on the networks, he once quit a coveted job on a pertinent matter of principle. Smith is a Louisiana-born Rhodes Scholar who joined CBS News in 1941, becoming in time a linchpin of the superb team that Edward R. Murrow organized. For eleven years he was chief CBS European correspondent, and his witty weekly broadcasts from London won nearly every prize in the business. Sig Mickelson, then a network vice-president, described him as "the intellectual dean of the CBS news staff."

In 1957, Mr. Smith went to Washington, and in due course was named chief Washington correspondent of CBS News. Four years later, Smith resigned from CBS in a disagreement over the correspondent's right to deal, on occasion, in strong editorial terms. As *The Washington Post* reported: "Smith insisted that the policy of interpretation be liberal, as in the past, or that the policy be changed to permit occasional, carefully labeled commentary, as in newspapers. Both suggestions were rejected."

To its credit, ABC News hired Smith, and by degrees the networks all came to accept a policy of clearly identified commentary on news shows. No one did more to establish that salutary innovation than Smith.

In his earlier years, Smith was distinctly left-of-center in outlook; he has more recently inclined to the right-of-center, and was a defender of the Vietnam War and a qualified admirer of Lyndon Johnson. But these labels are meaningless. What distinguishes his commentary is its concision, fair-mindedness, and common sense. He manages to say a lot in the fewest possible words, without ornament or excess adjectives.

As the choicest example, I would submit the following wonderfully compact commentary on Daniel Schorr's appearance before a House committee in connection with the leak of its CIA report. It, too, made me sit bolt upright, its terse eloquence suggesting that there is no substitute for experience, independent thought, and verbal fluency in the presentation of television news. I quote it *in toto*:

> You would have thought the distinction was crystal clear by now. But the questions and threats to Daniel Schorr by the Chairman of the House Ethics Committee force the obvious to be restated.
>
> The point is—I hope Congressman John Flynt can follow this without confusion—reporters and Congress are not the same. Reporters are not servants of Congress, or any part of government, have no duty to cover up or keep Congress's secrets. Their function repeatedly stated, practiced hundreds of times a day for hundreds of years, is to find and reveal information, not hide it. If Congress has secrets to keep, it must keep them, not expect us to.
>
> Yet we watch Mr. Flynt threatening Mr. Schorr with contempt of Congress, the bottom line of which would be imprisonment, for refusing to reveal the person on Mr. Flynt's committee or staff over whom Mr. Flynt apparently cannot maintain discipline and who therefore gave Schorr secret information, which Mr. Schorr is duty-bound to make public.
>
> It is to be hoped Congress can make the simple distinction Mr. Flynt has been unable to, and refuse a citation of contempt, as what it is—ridiculous. Watching yesterday's proceeding, it was possible to have the impression Mr. Schorr was in the dock. In fact, he wasn't. Mr. Schorr did his duty. It was Mr. Flynt who failed in his.

Speaking as an envious colleague, I say it is very difficult to do better than that. Smith is overdue for a Pulitzer, for that commentary alone.

P.S. Congress did not cite Dan Schorr for contempt.

LOOKING ahead to the Christmas holidays, there is one event not to be missed. A great performance by Julie Harris as Emily Dickinson in *The Belle of Amherst* will be broadcast on most public television stations on December 29, from 8:00 to 9:30 P.M. A grant from IBM is also financing repeat telecasts on January 1, from 8:30 to 10:00 P.M., and on January 2, from 2:00 to 3:30 P.M.

Most videotapes of stage productions leave me cold, for reasons I hope to discuss at a later point. This is an exception. Miss Harris is superbly cast as the reclusive poet, and William Luce's script sings. I dare anyone to see this one-woman celebration without wanting to reach for a book of Emily's amber verse. ◉

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Music to My Ears

Davies' Fires of London, Boulez and Stephen Jablonsky

by Irving Kolodin

PETER MAXWELL DAVIES is an English composer (born in Manchester in 1934) who clearly believes that there are other ways to acquaint people with his music than waiting for them to seek him out, or sending them envoys in the form of recordings. One way is a variant of the revered English institution called the concert party. Davies calls his group The Fires of London, and a talented group it is, to judge from its first appearance in the New York area at the Brooklyn Academy of Music.

The membership is young, able, and versatile: it includes a pianist (Stephen Pruslin) who can manage the harmonium, organ, and other keyboard instruments; a flutist (Judith Pearce) who doubles on piccolo; David Campbell, whose domain is described simply as "clarinets"; and Terence Emery, who performs on anything that can be struck or beaten. Even Mary Thomas, who is as near as the group has to a resident star, performs on the tambourine as well as filling the function of "soprano/reciter."

The first of her functions came to attention in the Davies half of the program, devoted to his *Missa super L'homme armé*. This is a work of imposing art and ingenuity, whose origin Davies ascribes to "an exercise," the task of completing an anonymous fifteenth-century mass on the popular song "L'Homme armé." The "exercise" grew, not by leaps and bounds, but by allusions and parallels, says Davies, to a musical equivalent of "the chapter in the *Ulysses* of Joyce corresponding to the Cyclops chapter in Homer." Essentially, it is a fusion of styles and parodies of styles. Such an endeavor may be victimized by an excess of cleverness. Davies maintains, on the whole, a neat balance of the serious and the cynical.

The relatively small vocal role Miss Thomas had in the *Missa* nevertheless gave reason for anticipating her part in the following performance of Arnold Schoenberg's *Pierrot Lunaire*. The basic sextet of instrumentalists fitted neatly the matrix of Schoenberg's instrumental requirements, as did the group itself into a former ballroom in the Academy. An area now called the Lepercq Space, it could be described as a "theater in the oblong," with a central playing area and bleacher seats at either end.

Davies, as conductor, elected to have Miss Thomas appear in a stylized white clown's costume, a Pierrot spotlighted in an otherwise dark playing area, with the musicans off to the side. What made the arrangement not merely acceptable but exciting was the mastery of mood and movement Miss Thomas brought to her effort. Her articulation of the half-spoken, half-sung text cut a straightforward line between the preference of some contemporary performers for a crooning kind of vocalization and the austerely explicit articulation endorsed by Schoenberg. The total program, as well as its execution, suggested that Peter Maxwell Davies and his group may find a welcome in many parts of this country.

WHO will do Pierre Boulez's Prospective Encounters when his commitment to the New York Philharmonic runs out at the end of the current season? The latest renewal of the series—which has gone underground, into the Great Hall in the basement of Cooper Union (around the corner from its East Village starting point in the Public Theater)—argued only one possible nominee: Pierre Boulez himself. Whether as music director or as guest conductor, this is an area of endeavor in which he is, on every count, irreplaceable.

The first portion of the evening had more to do with the anatomy of sound than with a body of musical aesthetics, as Loren Rush and David Gilbert offered examples of tonal constructions that played with pulsations that never, in any describable way, became compositions. Rush's *Nexus 16* (1965) found Boulez as conductor not beating time but literally marking time, as his left arm described a slow semi-circle of two fifteen-second segments, continued by his right arm in a minute-completing counterpart. The presumption was that this visual measurement of time would encourage the players to greater freedom of expression within each segment. Why this could not be accomplished by conventional gestures remained unexplained.

Gilbert's absorption was with the latent possibilities in conventional instruments of producing sounds not commonly associated with them. His *Poem IV* (in which Gilbert played the alto flute in a trio completed by two percussionists) and *Centerings II* (1970) proved beyond question that a bassoon or clarinet, as well as a violin or double bass, could be made to sound unlike a bassoon or clarinet, violin or double bass. The demonstration was convincing: the compositions did not prove that the result was music.

ENTER, after an intermission, the person of Stephen Jablonsky, a New York-born graduate of the High School of Music and Art, and the City College of New York. He proceeded to talk about his work (as the other composers had about theirs) fluently and persuasively (as the others had not). *Wisconsin Death Trip*, he explained, was derived from a similarly titled book by Michael Lesy that interrelates newspaper accounts and primitive photography to depict the rigors of frontier life in a Wisconsin community of the 1880s and 1890s. Jablonsky has converted the book's photographs into slides, which were displayed in a random pattern on a screen, as a group of four reciters declaimed the book's references to epidemic, mayhem, holocaust, suicide, and mental breakdown, against under- and over-scoring for the instruments.

The result of such a collage could have been chaos or communication. That it projected a sense of time and place marked Stephen Jablonsky as a name to be noted for future attention. For this performance Boulez selected about half the total adapted by Jablonsky from *Wisconsin Death Trip* (covering the years 1890, 1892, 1894, 1895, and 1898). This excerpt, totaling about twenty minutes, impressed me as just about enough for a first hearing. As for the composer, he came away with a gorgeously articulate performance under the direction of the indefatigable Boulez. If the taping unit was functioning properly, it could give Jablonsky a precious sound track for future performances of the slides alone. ◉

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Manner of Speaking

Tweedlejimmy, Tweedlejerry and the Botched "Amnesty"

by John Ciardi

IN THE late unwaged campaign for the presidency, one of the few enduring issues raised by Tweedlejimmy was the matter of "amnesty" earlier botched by Tweedlejerry, also known as "The Pardoner."

Under the restriction of *SR*'s lead time, I am writing before the election for publication after it. I suppose I will have voted for Tweedlejimmy, if only because he did reopen the issue of "amnesty," though in terms that left me in doubt. For the country to ignore the question, I believe, is to fail in a necessary moral duty. To mismanage it is to fail an essential test of the national character.

The terms in which we ask the question are all-important. If we speak of "draft evaders" or "deserters," we have already reached the conclusion in the act of asking the question. If we speak of "amnesty," we have declared in advance that the young men now in exile are guilty of criminal offenses we, in our generosity, will forgive and forget on condition that they serve a penitential year or two in menial service.

"Amnesty" derives from the Greek *mnasthai,* "to remember," with the negative prefix *a-*; hence, "I do not remember," "I [agree to] forget." It is a dangerous term in that it implies guilt when part of the question under discussion must be "was there a guilty action?"

By now it should be obvious to all that the "body-count" agony of Vietnam raised questions of a national guilt. How does one say that the young men in exile, in opposing that agony on grounds of conscience, became guilty of a criminal offense punishable by perpetual exile?

It would be more to the point for the nation to examine its own moral situation. For what is more immoral than the act of sending men into combat without giving them a reason they can call upon to stay them when hell begins to break around them, when the sphincter begins to flutter, and when every natural instinct is to cut and run? When we ask the young to die for us, we owe them a reason.

World War II taught me combat fear. I had to tell myself something I could believe or I would have broken down and blubbered. It was then I had to say to myself, "All right, damn it, better be dead than live to see a Jap battleship steam into an American port with the surrender terms." Somehow that was enough for holding purposes. I managed not to disgrace myself entirely. But what could I have told myself in Vietnam?

IT WOULD be well for the United States of America to face its moral guilt in having sent men to die without giving them cause or reason for their deaths. There are worse things than to die for one's country. One of them is to die with no moral commitment to what one is dying for. We must face the possibility that we have failed our young far more seriously than they have failed us.

But did these young men in exile fail us? It is true that they chose to act according to their consciences rather than submit to military obedience. Yet the United States of America, in solemn session in Nuremberg, joined in the assertion that there is some law of conscience that takes precedence over military obedience. We imposed sentences of death and imprisonment on men whose defense was that they were simply obeying orders.

The young men now in exile grew up in the aftermath of Nuremberg. We taught them that conscience counts for more than obedience. Do we still believe in conscience and moral purpose as greater matters than obedience? How do we really feel about the horrors of "body-count" warfare? There is matter here for a great national introspection. Until we examine these questions searchingly, we cannot begin to define our national character. Those young men in exile are our sons. Granted a few bad apples in any lot, they have acted as conscientious objectors and have suffered exile rather than participate in a great national wrong. We need their voices in the necessary discussion of our national purposes and character. They are not objects to forgive and forget. They are men to remember and to welcome home as sons who have done us a moral service and who can do us the further service of making us face our own moral imperatives. ◉

"Good grief! What have you done with Santa Claus?"

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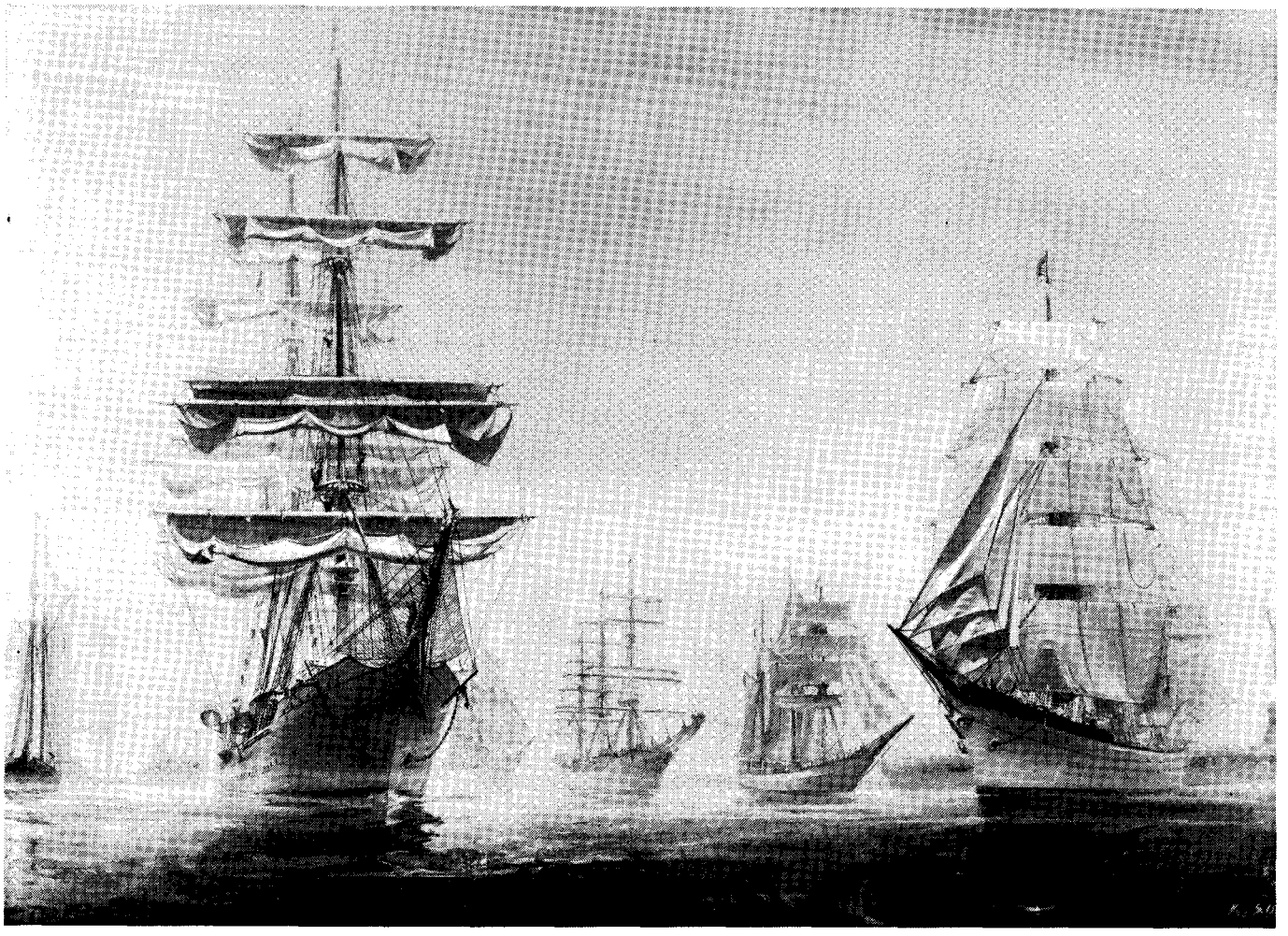

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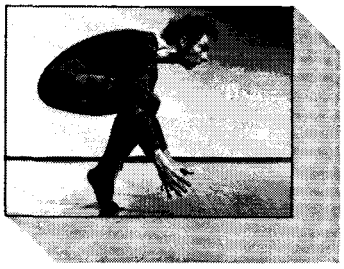
Sir Georg Solti conducts the Chicago Symphony in an all-Mendelssohn program. Dec. 8

The American Ballet Theatre performs "Billy the Kid" by Eugene Loring and "Les Patineurs" by Frederick Ashton. Dec. 15

Chester Mystery Play— Medieval theatre Dec. 22

"Cyrano de Bergerac" performed by The American Conservatory Theatre of San Francisco. Dec. 29 (Repeat)



The Merce Cunningham Dance Company Jan. 5

William Gillette's "Secret Service" Phoenix Repertory Company of New York Jan. 12

Childhood Series, *premiere* Rudyard Kipling's "Baa, Baa, Black Sheep" Ingrid Bergman hosts. Jan. 19

Childhood Series "A Great Day for Bonzo" by H. E. Bates. Jan. 26

Childhood Series "Easter Tells Such Dreadful Lies" by Barbara Waring. Feb. 2

Childhood Series George Ewart Evans' "Possessions." Feb. 9

Childhood Series Frank O'Connor's "An Only Child." Feb. 16

The Martha Graham Dance Company Feb. 23 (Repeat)

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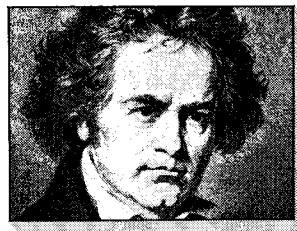
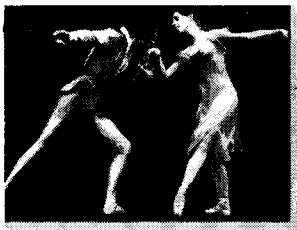
Teresa Stratas in Richard Strauss' opera "Salome" with Karl Böhm and the Vienna Philharmonic. Mar. 2

Cellist Mstislav Rostropovich conducts and solos in an all-Haydn program. Mar. 9

The Dance Theatre of Harlem Mar. 16

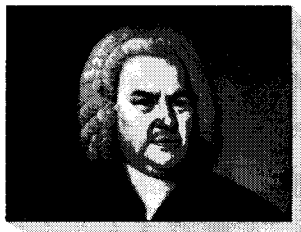


Herbert von Karajan and the Berlin Philharmonic. Beethoven's Symphony No. 5 and Bach's Suite No. 2. Mar. 23



The City Center Joffrey Ballet Works by Arpino, Joffrey and Jooss. Mar. 30 (Repeat)

Chester Mystery Play— Medieval theatre Apr. 6



Karl Richter and the Munich Bach Orchestra and Choir Bach's "St. Matthew Passion" Friday, April 8, (Repeat)

Twyla Tharp & Dancers perform "Sue's Leg— Remembering the Thirties." Apr. 13 (Repeat)

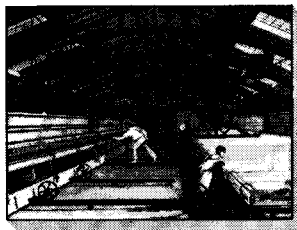
Theater in America Apr. 20

"New Directions in Dance" with Pilobolus Dance Theatre Apr. 27

Theater in America May 4

Leonard Bernstein and the Israel Philharmonic in Mahler's "The Song of the Earth." May 11

"Hard Times" by Charles Dickens. May 18



"Hard Times" by Charles Dickens. May 25

"Hard Times" by Charles Dickens. June 1

"Hard Times" by Charles Dickens. June 8

Leonard Bernstein and the Boston Symphony Orchestra. Liszt's "A Faust Symphony" June 15

"Trailblazers of Modern Dance." June 22

The opera classic "I Pagliacci." June 29 (Repeat)

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Curmudgeon-at-Large

Snipes and Chalkwalkers

by Cleveland Amory

AN AUTHOR with a new book out is perilous. He is also parlous: he talks about it to everybody—even other authors. Unfortunately for us, we made no exception in the case of Irving Mansfield, husband of the late Jacqueline Susann and the greatest promoter of books since Gideon. "What did you say the title was?" he asked us. "*Animail*," we said proudly. "Oh," he said. "You see," we started, "it's about letters we. . . ." "It's a play on words," he said. "I don't like plays on words. The only time you can get away with plays on words is when they're something generic. Something that means something. From the Bill of Rights, say—like, 'We the People.' Jacqueline knew words. She liked words like 'Valley' and 'Shadow.' Good words."

We interrupted him to show him our book. He shook his head. "God," he said, "that jacket's pink." "It's not pink," we protested, "it's orange." "I don't give a damn," he said, "it's still pale and pastel. If there's anything I can't stand, it's a pale pastel. You've got to have a jacket that will show up in the bookstores after dark." "After dark," we protested again, "the bookstores are closed." "Yeah," he said, "but that doesn't stop people from walking by and looking in.

"How do you think baby food is sold?" Mr. Mansfield demanded. It was our turn to shake our head. "Red," he said. "It's sold in red. They put it in red labels at eye level. Those tots reach out for it. It appeals to their libido." "Libido," we exclaimed, "in babies!" "Everybody's got libido," he said. "Even book buyers.

"What *I* do for jackets," Mr. Mansfield said, "is get them to make up a whole bunch of them in different colors. Then I put them across the street and get them on camera. I take long shots. Three-quarters shots. Side shots and head shots. I watch for blurs, or figures running together. And whatever you do on TV, don't trust those hosts to hold a book up. They'll give it to you sideways. What the hell good is that? You've got to talk about something on the jacket, and show it yourself. What are you doing about snipes?"

"About *what*?" we asked. "Snipes," he said. "God, you really don't know anything, do you? You've *got* to have snipes. One-sheets. With your book jacket on them. And you put them on construction sites and places like that." "Oh," we said. "And don't forget chalkwalkers," he said. "You've got to roll those sidewalks. They should be on every corner. But whatever you do, get fast chalkwalkers. Remember, it's illegal.

"Have you hit the bookstores yet?" Mr. Mansfield asked. "Hit?" we repeated dumbly. "Don't go in yourself," he said. "Get a friend. Jacqueline never went in first. I'd go in first. I'd say maybe I could get the author to come in. 'She's too embarrassed, but she's outside.' They'd ask her in, of course, and while she was signing books, I'd go right to the lady manager—they usually have lady managers—and ask her if she'd read the book. If she hadn't, I'd say it would be my pleasure to buy one for her. And then I'd buy it right there and then in her store, for cash.

"Finally," Mr. Mansfield said, "let me give you two pieces of advice. Don't trust your agent and don't trust your publisher. Particularly, don't trust your publisher. What your publisher does for you will be slightly less than what your agent thinks he should be doing. Remember, there's no publisher alive who, before he went to sleep last night, said, 'What can I do for Cleveland Amory?' Take my word for it, Cleve. You're the only one who's doing that." ◉

"I want an immediate end to wordwide inflation, a drop in Arabian oil prices, and a crack at Ernie Filkin's job."

Wit Twister No. 86
Edited by Arthur Swan

The object of the game is to complete the poem by thinking of one word whose letters, when rearranged, will yield the appropriate word for each series of blanks. Each dash within a blank corresponds to a letter of the word. Answers on page 93.

In order to — — — — — — — —
his lust for action,

He turned to wenching, — — — —
— — — —, and dice,

And subsequently found new satisfaction

— — — — — — — — dupes who
plotted his demise.

A.

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Top of My Head

Christmas Story

by Goodman Ace

'Twas the night before Christmas, and all through the house, not a creature was stirring. Including me. I sat there staring at a letter from a twelve-year-old relative. He had written concerning the digital watch I had sent him at his request for Christmas; one of those watches that light up to show the time of day and the date. He said that it did not light up anymore, as I had promised him on the card I had enclosed, and asked whether he should return it, so I could exchange it for one that lights up.

In the first place I hadn't promised him eternal light. My card, as I reconstruct it, was as follows: "Dear Jason: Enclosed is a solid-gold watch which I bought off a woman in a department store for $45.60, including tax, along with a ninety-minute guarantee. It is my fondest hope that it lights up the time and days of your youth. If it fails, I enclose a pack of matches which will give you the same effect."

Okay, I admit that does not bear the hallmark of a card that celebrates the sacred holiday season with peace on earth and goodwill toward all. But it is more relevant to the current scene, in which a twelve-year-old kid can persuade his personal uncle Claus to send him a $45.60 watch, especially when I recall that I was twelve when I got a fountain pen. All right, it was a quill pen.

So what did I do about the watch that didn't light up? I sent Jason a fresh pack of matches. And enclosed a note saying not to send back the watch because the night before Christmas is not the best time to exchange a gift.

Actually there is no best time to exchange anything. Actually, actually there is not even a better time. Salespeople are so sell-oriented that at the drop of a sales slip, accompanied by a returned purchase, they have been seen to quail and to disappear into the woodwork.

A fairly safe time to exchange a Christmas gift is some time in January. But not too far into it—not more than a week. There may still linger the aroma of myrrh and incense and a touch of goodwill. That's when I went, not to exchange a gift but to have it repaired, and in minutes was reduced to a non-person.

Last year, I gave myself a cassette recorder for Christmas. Obeying the pleas of our postal service, I always shop early for Christmas. I begin every June 17. What? Yes, June 17. Why? It's the anniversary of Watergate. (How quickly they forget!) And what better date to buy a cassette recorder?

The salesman at the smart and expensive Madison Avenue shop showed me an array of cassettes, but the one I fell in love with was a Sony—a little thing of beauty and compact power, made by a little Japanese of beauty and compact power. I bought an adapter to save batteries. The bill came to over $200.

For six months my cassette and I spoke to each other. Then suddenly, a few days ago, it developed a bad case of laryngitis. I took it to the shop, and there was my salesman.

"Hi," I said. "Remember me and my $200 Sony?"

"What's the matter with it?" he asked. Clearly, he didn't remember either of us.

"It has developed a bad throat; speaks only in a hoarse whisper." I handed it to him. He shied away from it.

"Take it to our technician over there," he said, pointing across the shop.

Well, if that's the way he was going to play it, I would too. "Would you mind taking me over and introducing me to him?"

He did mind, but he walked me over. It was downhill. The technician was an austere, dominating type who brooked no foolishness. He took my cassette, opened it, peered into it, tried several batteries, and then announced, "It has to go back to the factory." He began packing it for the trip.

"Oh, my," I said. "How long will it be there?"

"Only God knows," he replied.

"May I speak to Him?" I asked.

"What him? I'm the technician here."

"May I enclose a get-well-quick card?"

"You don't need any card. I'm giving you a receipt." I insisted. He called back the salesman.

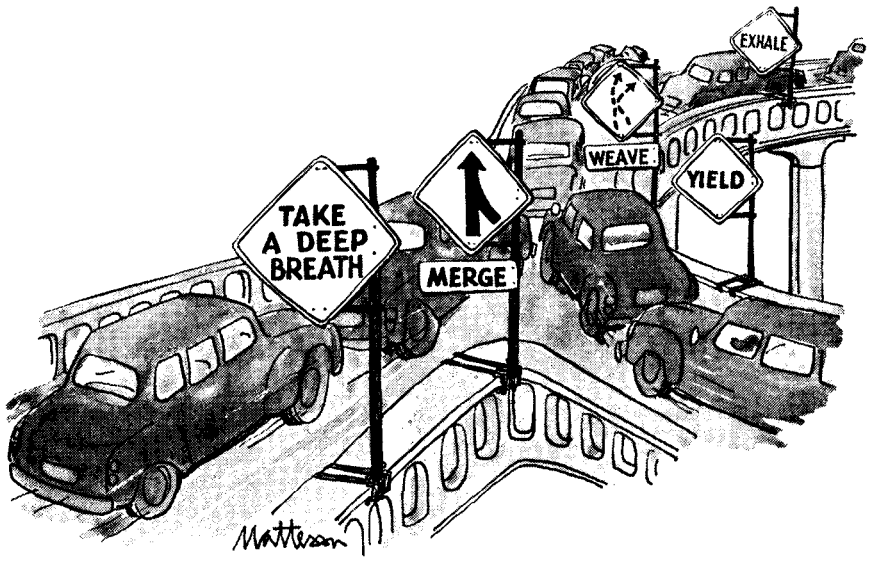
"What's the problem?" the salesman asked.

"He wants to write a get-well-quick card," the technician said. The salesman studied me a moment, then said, "Let him write it."

I wrote it, and the technician stuffed it into the package. Yesterday, I went to the shop and handed him a roll of medicated throat lozenges to send to my Sony. He pleasantly said he would. I felt reborn.

A small victory, you say? Let me tell you that he not only wished me a Merry Christmas, he also hoped that in the new year my health would be greatly improved.

And to all of you, the same. ◉



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Light Refractions

The Magic Power of Words

by Thomas H. Middleton

THERE was a distressing story in the newspaper a few months ago. I wish I'd clipped it out and saved it. As it is, I can only hope I remember it fairly accurately. There was a group of people who wanted a particular dictionary removed from the shelves of the local library because it contained a lot of obscenity. I think they said there were sixty-five or so dirty words in it. Some poor woman who was acting as a spokesman for the group had a list of the offending words, which she started to read aloud at a hearing. She managed to read about twenty of them before she started sobbing uncontrollably and couldn't continue.

I'm sure I could have read off the entire list. I'm equally sure I'd have been somewhat embarrassed at reading some of the words out loud at a hearing. Today, there are undoubtedly many people—both men and women—who could have managed the whole thing without a trace of a qualm. But the fact is that we'd not all be doing the same thing. For me, it would mean enunciating words whose connotations might range from the completely inoffensive to the quite unpleasant, with a good sprinkling of the ludicrous in between.

For those who could read the list with no feeling of uneasiness, the words would be "only words."

While I don't like anything about the idea of removing any dictionaries from any libraries, I can sympathize with the woman who broke down. For her, the words were not "only words": they were horrifying things with their own terrible power, and they were too much for her.

There is power in spoken words. Some of the power is not unlike magic. The fact that the power may (or may not) be all in our minds does not diminish its effect.

Most people probably don't know that if you tell someone your dream before breakfast, it will come true, but my mother told me that almost as soon as I was old enough to put my dreams into words. So all my life I've been telling my good dreams before breakfast and saving the nightmares for later. It wasn't until I was well into my twenties that I finally realized that this superstition was not at all widespread. In fact, I haven't met anyone out side of my immediate family who has eve heard of it. Maybe my mother made it up It is, nevertheless, a minor instance of th magic power of the spoken word.

One of the major instances of this powe is the widely held belief in the efficacy o knocking wood. If, for example, the ol heap hasn't had to go to the garage fo repairs in almost a year, you'd better no mention the fact out loud, or you'll nee a new clutch and a new set of rings tha evening—unless you knock wood.

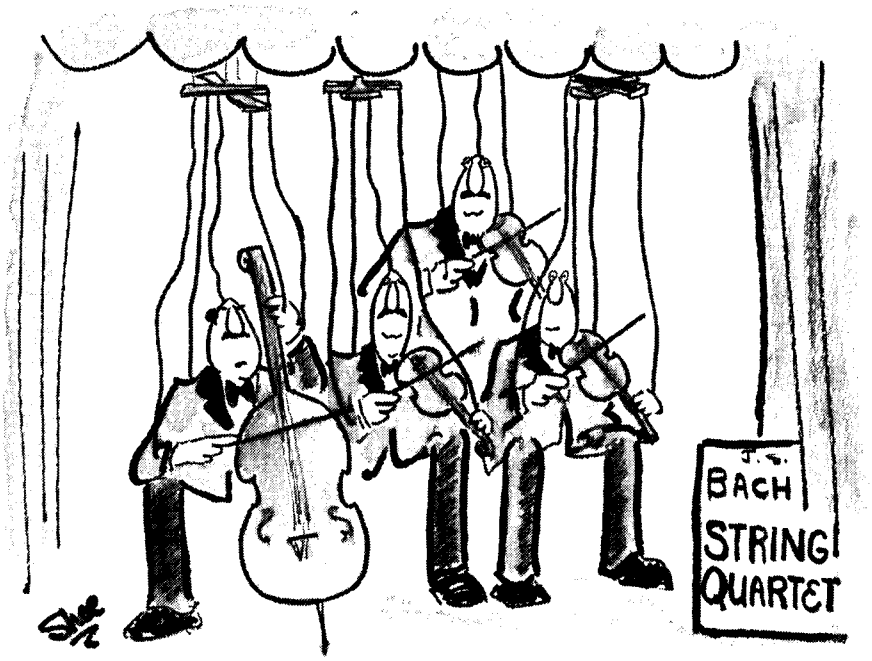
When I was in college, one of the psy chology professors told us, in a lecture o superstition, that even among men of sci ence who knew that superstitions wer only superstitions and should not be take seriously, knocking wood was a very com mon practice. He made me feel better, be cause though I may fool around with othe superstitions (dreams before breakfast etc.), "knock wood" is one superstition take absolutely seriously. I've walked un der ladders; I ignore black cats; I've put hat on a bed; even as a child, I stepped o many a crack, smug in the conviction tha I would not thus break my mother's back I've even spilled salt without tossing som over my shoulder; but if I were to sa something like, "I haven't had a bad col in over three years," I wouldn't be able t breathe regularly until I'd knocked wood

Obviously, it's all right to *think* abou how well things have been going. Jus don't express your thoughts in words where there is magic.

Countless generations have been taught practically as soon as they could speak that enunciating certain words constitute a giant step toward hell and that speakin or chanting other words or combination of words is a big help along the road t salvation or spiritual bliss; one man's non sense syllable is another's path to peace

While the power of traditionally shock ing words to shock is at an all-time low, a least in the United States, and many of u have decided that words are only word and are not in themselves either good o bad, it is still hard for me to imagine any one for whom there are not some word with almost supernatural connotations whether the words be Om, O Lord Ou Father, Holy Mary, Hare Krishna, or simple statement of faith in one's car buretor.

As one who has to find wood to knoc in order to minimize the negative effect of his own words, I certainly can't faul someone who is overpowered by a collec tion of—to her—hideous taboos take from a dictionary. ◉



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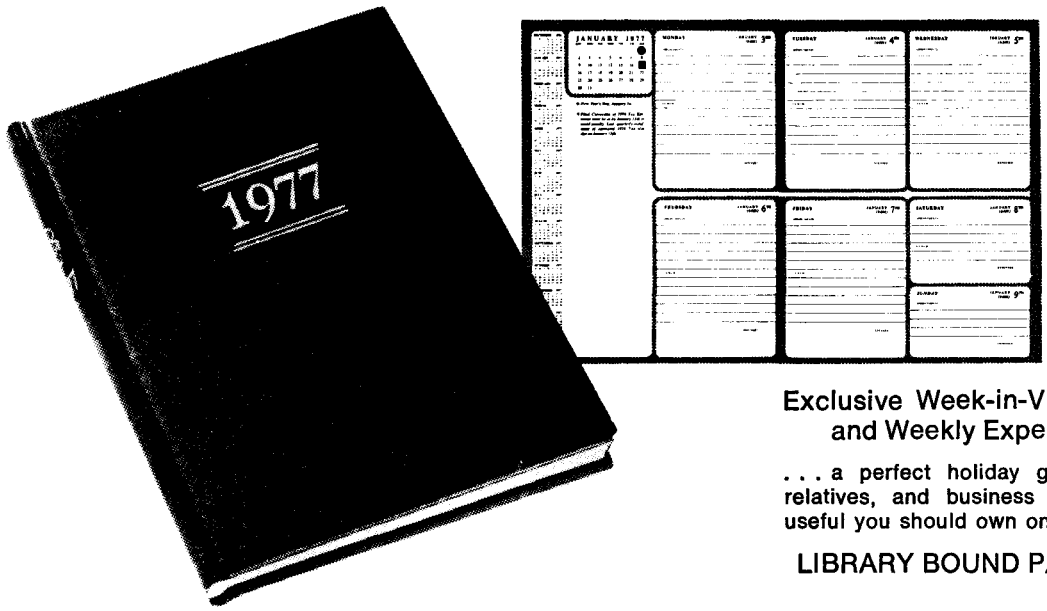

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Double-Crostic

by Thomas H. Middleton

1 P	2 A		3 D	4 B	5 G	6 C	7 Q	8 K	9 I		10 H	11 S	12 O	13 W		14 V								
15 M	16 K		17 U	18 D	19 O	20 J	21 N	22 E	23 F	24 C	25 Q		26 K	27 S	28 I	29 H								
	30 R	31 K	32 B	33 A		34 P	35 V	36 G		37 E	38 M	39 N	40 B	41 G	42 V	43 H								
44 I		45 U	46 C		47 W	48 S	49 H		50 C	51 Q	52 D	53 N	54 F	55 S	56 O	57 E								
	58 P	59 N	60 T	61 A	62 J	63 W		64 L	65 R	66 M	67 H	68 W	69 C	70 Q		71 F								
72 P	73 B	74 U	75 O	76 M	77 D		78 T		79 D	80 P	81 S	82 G	83 W		84 R	85 J								
86 I	87 E	88 V	89 N		90 D	91 N	92 A	93 E	94 V	95 B	96 G	97 L	98 Q		99 N	100 T								
101 J		102 P	103 U	104 K	105 V	106 H		107 V	108 I	109 N		110 L	111 W	112 B	113 N	114 E								
115 J		116 M	117 G	118 N	119 T		120 R	121 E	122 L		123 M	124 R	125 H		126 L	127 C								
128 D	129 N	130 P	131 S	132 V	133 H	134 Q		135 J	136 B	137 K	138 N	139 A	140 S		141 V	142 N								
143 Q	144 G		145 C	146 V	147 N		148 D	149 Q	150 T	151 E	152 P		153 L	154 D	155 M	156 T								
157 H	158 I	159 F	160 G		161 A	162 V	163 M	164 P		165 I	166 U	167 L	168 Q	169 G	170 B	171 K								
172 O		173 J	174 M	175 W		176 B	177 E	178 F	179 C	180 P	181 A	182 W	183 N	184 H										

Number 113

Instructions

If you've never solved one of these puzzles, it will probably look much more difficult than it actually is. If you can answer only a very few of the WORDS correctly, you're on your way to solving the puzzle.

Fill in the numbered blanks of all the WORDS you can guess, and write the letter of each numbered blank in its correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. The letters printed in the upper-right-hand corners of the squares indicate from what WORD a particular square's letter comes.

The diagram, when filled in, should read as a quotation from a published work. The dark squares are the spaces between words. If there is no dark square at the end of a line, a word may carry over to the line below.

The first letter of each WORD, reading down, will spell the name of the author and the title of the work from which the quotation is taken.

You should find yourself seeing words and phrases taking form in the diagram; so you can work back and forth, from WORDS to diagram and from diagram to WORDS, until the diagram is filled in.

CLUES	WORDS
A. Gunderic, Gaiseric, and Hunneric, for instance	161 181 2 33 61 92 139
B. Toy vehicle operated on a principle similar to that of a railway handcar (2 wds.)	170 4 32 73 95 112 136 176 40
C. Shaped like a wheel	50 127 145 6 46 179 24 69
D. Grit or sandstone containing feldspar, various dark minerals, interstitial clay, etc.	79 128 154 18 148 3 52 77 90
E. Inauspicious (comp.)	93 114 151 22 37 57 87 121 177
F. Deadens; dulls	178 23 54 71 159
G. Suggests; close friends	41 82 96 117 144 169 5 36 160
H. Liberated; without constraint	125 157 10 43 106 133 184 29 49 67
I. "And, behold, your ___ stood round about, and made obeisance" (Gen. 37:7)	86 108 158 28 165 9 44
J. Sudden downfall or collapse	101 115 135 173 20 62 85
K. Toughens, tempers	104 137 171 16 31 8 26
L. Perplexed; puzzled	153 64 110 126 167 97 122
M. Large trout of the lakes of North America	174 66 116 76 123 163 38 155 15
N. "Bid me discourse, I will ___" (3 wds., *(Venus and Adonis)*	59 89 183 21 99 118 129 39 53 138 91 109 147 113 142
O. Department of central France, capital Auxerre	172 12 19 56 75
P. Pertaining to or maintained by a community chest (2 wds.)	80 72 152 58 102 1 34 130 164 180
Q. Branch of paleontology dealing with fossil footprints	51 7 134 98 149 168 143 25 70
R. Concluding musical sections	65 124 84 120 30
S. English chemist, Nobel Prize 1937	140 81 131 55 11 27 48
T. Flemish painter and humanist (1548–1606)	60 78 100 119 156 150
U. Primrose having pale yellow flowers	45 103 17 166 74
V. Saint Exupéry book (2 wds.)	42 132 88 35 14 141 105 162 94 146 10
W. Insane	83 63 13 111 182 47 68 175

Answer to *Double-Crostic No. 112* appears on page 72.

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Jingle Bells

What better way to ring in the holidays and express the spirit of friendship than with the gift of rare taste.
A Christmas tradition for almost 100 years.

J&B RARE SCOTCH

86 Proof Blended Scotch Whisky ©1976 Paddington Corp., N.Y.

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Model SL-7200 Betamax videotape deck. Suggested retail price, $1,300 including automatic timer.

You just finished watching your favorite Monday night 9 o'clock show.

Unfortunately, there was something else on at 9 that you wanted to see.

But you had to miss one of them, right?

Well, not any more.

Because with Sony's new Betamax deck, while you're watching your favorite Monday night 9 o'clock show, you can actually be videotaping that other show you want to see.

Let's take another situation.

You have to go to a P.T.A. meeting on a night that there's something on TV you're dying to see.

Well, you won't miss this one either.

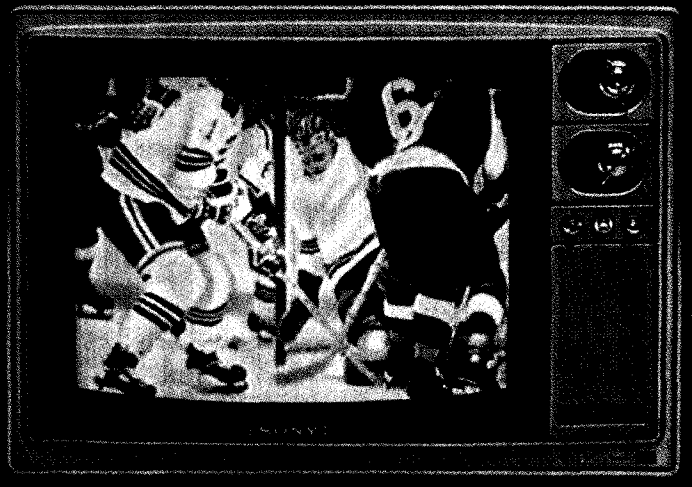
Because Betamax comes with an automatic timer that you can set to tape up to one hour *while you're not there.*

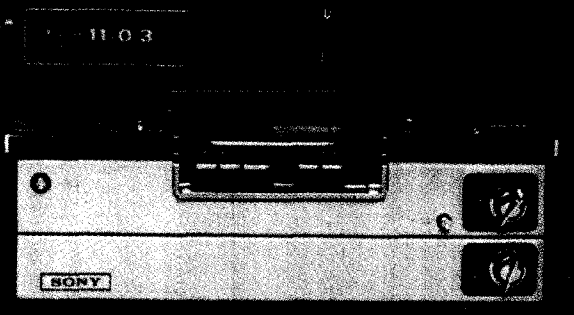
The tapes, by the way, are reusable—just record over them, and use them over and over again.

And, as we said before, Betamax can jack into any TV, even if it's not a Sony.

However, if it's *not* a Sony, even though you won't miss your program you will be missing something else.

NOW YOU CAN SEE WHAT YOU MISSED.





SIMULATION OF CLOSED-CIRCUIT PICTURE.

Sony's new Betamax deck can jack into any TV and actually videotape something off one channel while you're watching another channel.

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